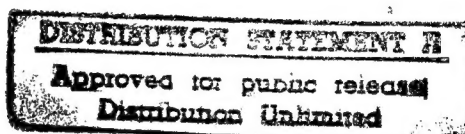


JPRS-UPA-89-004  
12 JANUARY 1989



**FOREIGN  
BROADCAST  
INFORMATION  
SERVICE**

# ***JPRS Report***

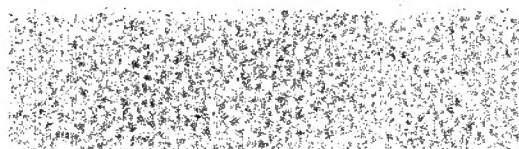


## **Soviet Union**

***Political Affairs***

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# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-89-004

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12 JANUARY 1989

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**IZVESTIYA Charges Kazakh Official  
Misinformed Public**  
*18300139 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian*  
22 Nov 88 p 6

[Article by V. Mirolevich, IZVESTIYA correspondent in  
Ust-Kamenogorsk: Traits of the 'Portrait'"]

[Text] Eastern Kazakhstan television broadcasted the program "A Political Portrait of the First Secretary of the Ust-Kamenogorsk City Party Committee, Yu. K. Sheyko". The candid story about party leadership is one more trait of the "glasnost" which is being sanctioned in our country. And this, for the present, still rather unusual moment is important: the "Political Portrait" was prepared shortly before the city party conference held to hear reports and elect new officials—this also is distinctive publicity and a campaign for the election of the person, who in the near future will run for a new term in the position of chairman of the city Soviet. The program attracted attention and many Eastern Kazakhs gathered in front of their televisions at the appointed time.

"Portrait" was watched with interest: it was unconventional, satiated with pointed dialogues, and illuminated the first secretary's personality from various points of view. But there on the screen a conversation was carried on about publications in the newspaper IZVESTIYA. While answering the interviewer's question, Yu. Sheyko accused the IZVESTIYA correspondent, who published a story three years ago about the city party committee first secretary's abuse of his position, of violating the journalistic ethic.

That evening and for the next few days the telephone at the correspondent's station hardly stopped ringing. The articles, which were recollected, caused serious repercussions in their own time. These were some of the first articles, which exposed the mechanism for violations of the housing laws by high-ranking officials, who were lopsidedly interpreting a principle of social equality.

After the release of the second of these—the article "Outward Appearances", which told about the attempts of the oblast's leaders to portray an appearance of inquiring into the serious violations, which were published in the article "By Oneself", by the decision of the Central Committee Buro of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Yu. Sheyko was severely reprimanded with an entry in his party registration form for misusing his official position during the remodelling of his private apartment. IZVESTIYA also wrote about this. And no refutations whatsoever on the part of Yu. Sheyko followed. But now, according to our readers, the first secretary of the city party committee has refuted some of his own words, which were quoted in the newspaper.

The management of the Eastern Kazakhstan Regional Radio and Television Committee at my request has handed over to the correspondent's station a certified copy of the transcript of "Political Portrait". I am apologizing in advance for the long quotation, but it is necessary to cite it in full.

[Correspondent] ...Three years have passed since the newspaper IZVESTIYA published the article "By Oneself".

[Sheyko] 1985.

[Correspondent] 1985. At that time, you remember, you were reproached for decorating your apartment at government expense.

[Sheyko] I decorated it.

[Correspondent] Yes, during those years. At the time you explained it in the following manner: I did it, like everyone else, everyone was behaving in this manner. What do you think about this formulation now?

[Sheyko] Well, once again, I have to divide your question into two parts. Firstly, I would like you to ask me the question: Did I say that? And the second question, what do I think of this formulation. Now, the answer to the first question: I did not say that phrase. And no one can prove that I did. Now you and I are talking—there is a recording. But when a newspaper correspondent comes into your office and writes in a notebook, who can prove—what a person said or didn't say. There was a plenum of the Journalists' Union, the ethics of journalists were discussed. This is what is most important. There must be the highest ethics. And so: I didn't say that phrase, but I will never be able to prove it to anyone. Even the commission, which checked into all of this business, they immediately told me: we don't believe you could say that. All of the members.

[Correspondent] Well, all right, I won't press the issue.

[Sheyko] This is a very unfavorable concept: "I did as everyone else was doing". What does this mean—like everyone else? Every person has his own head, and every person must think with his own mind.

So, what is going on here? Why is the first secretary of the city party committee denying today that which was printed in the newspaper three years ago? In the television program he unequivocally accused "IZVESTIYA" of allegedly attributing statements to him that he didn't make. How is this to be taken? I asked Yuriy Konstantinovich Sheyko this question directly? And suddenly I heard:

—I didn't make such a statement during the television program.

—Excuse me, but the statement is right here,—I pointed out the line in the television program transcript.

—Indeed. It escaped my attention, agreed Yu. Sheyko.— But the program was recorded over several hours. It is possible that I did say this in the course of a long conversation in front of the television camera. And it came out in this context, possibly, during the montage...

—I inquired specially, there was no montage here. In reflecting upon the ethics of the journalist, you departed from the fundamental assertion. And in doing this, by the way, you did not state the main point: which is that bygone conversation conversation was not one on one. Two journalists from "IZVESTIYA" were talking with you.

—You are right. There were three of us. But the conversation lasted several hours. I actually said at that time that I did as everyone else was doing. But this statement was not made with regard to my own misdeed, but with regard to unwritten rules, which existed at that time. But in the article it was attached to the issue of my apartment. In my opinion, this is wrong.

—This is strange logic. Even during the television program, you acknowledged your past adherence to those unwritten rules. How can one admit to a certain lifestyle and at the same time deny its connection with a misdeed, which illustrates personal adherence to this lifestyle?

Thus our conversation concluded on this note. Yuriy Konstantinovich, apparently, understanding that something strange had happened, asked me to relay his apologies to the authors of the article in "IZVESTIYA". I have done this. But how can one tell tens of thousands of eastern Kazakhs that the first secretary of the Ust-Kamenogorsk city party committee has misinformed them? After all, he only told me about his apologies, whereas he told all the television viewers in the oblast about the "violation" of the journalistic ethics. And hitherto television has not broadcast any corrections regarding this.

Of course, everyone can forget something and anyone's memory can fail them. But it is strange that in this instance the memory can function so selectively. Is this not a consequence of the forthcoming election campaign and the meetings to hear reports and elect new officials which are being held now in the party organizations? And whose ethics should we be discussing now? Anyone can make a mistake. Newspapers also, because they are produced by mortal people. But newspapers strive most resolutely to avoid mistakes. And they remember their articles. They know that even if the hero of the article "forgets" something, millions of readers will remind them of it.

V. Mirolevich,  
IZVESTIYA Correspondent,  
Ust-Kamenogorsk.

### **TuSSR's Khodzhamuradov on Far-Reaching Effects of 'Shadow Economy'**

18300083 Moscow *EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA* in Russian No 40, Oct 88 p 7

[Interview by A. Meshcherin with TuSSR Council of Ministers Chairman Annamurad Khodzhamuradovich Khodzhamuradov under the rubric "Topical Interview": "The Spectrum of Development—The Sphere of Paid Services in Turkmenistan"]

[Text] *Last year Turkmenistan's income of the population surpassed its expenditures by over 280 million rubles. Whence disruptions in monetary circulation, delays in the issue of wages, a lack of the proper vested interests of the workers in raising labor productivity, the vitality of the "shadow economy" and truly stupendous sums of kalyms... In short, the problem goes beyond the bounds of an exclusively economic one, and its negative influence is being felt in the most diverse spheres of life. What is being undertaken to untie this tight knot of problems that has accumulated over many years? TuSSR Council of Ministers Chairman A.Kh. Khodzhamuradov discusses this in an interview with an EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA correspondent.*

[Meshcherin] Annamurad Khodzhamuradovich, the USSR Council of Ministers decree "Measures for a Radical Restructuring of the Sphere of Paid Public Services" tightens up the targets of the program to develop the production of consumer goods and services for the years 1986-2000. It is noteworthy that a similar resolution had been adopted in the Turkmen SSR at the initiative of republic organs two months before the decree of the all-union government. You will agree that local authorities do not often take on a burden that would be more easily passed upward. What motives were guiding the government of the republic in this instance?

[Khodzhamuradov] The planned growth rates for the volume of services really are high at first glance. But what should be taken as the point of the report? We essentially had to start practically at zero.

I would put a change in priorities in first place in a discussion of the restructuring of the work of our republic government. What was given preference during the years of stagnation? The organization of fine-sounding reports. They tried to reach prestigious indicators for the cotton-wool harvest and natural-gas production at any price... And at any price means often to go against common sense and economic calculations to the detriment of social development. The time has come to correct errors made earlier. The policy of the 27th CPSU Congress for the social re-orientation of the economy by virtue of the circumstances cited should be pursued especially actively in our region. The government of the republic sees this as one of its chief tasks.

Today we can speak of the first steps toward the assigned goal. According to our calculations, the volume of retail trade turnover will increase by 16.5 percent, the production of consumer goods by 23.7 percent and the level of paid services by 50.5 percent over three years of the five-year plan. The rate of housing construction is increasing, and steps are being taken to improve the operation of organs in health care, education and culture.

Even today, however, I would describe the level of satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the workers of the republic as impermissibly low. The money earned by the workers frequently has no use, and it is removed from circulation and loses its value. If you take into account that the overwhelming majority of cash—about 80 percent—returns to banks through trade organizations, a way out of this far from cheerful situation suggests itself: radical improvement of the system of public services and elimination of prevailing disproportions in the sphere of consumption with the aid of enterprises and organizations of all sectors without exception is essential.

The ideas implicit in the Comprehensive Program were thus perceived by us here in the republic as the key to solving the problem. It soon became clear, however, that the nationwide program does not at all take into account all of the possibilities existing in the region. And the complete satisfaction of the needs of the population is still quite far off. That is why it is necessary to increase the amount of work. After all, even the reference points that have been defined for 1995 by the USSR Council of Ministers will only make it possible for us to reach just the fifty-percent level of prevailing standards for services.

It is understandable that we cannot consider even these new frontiers to be our ultimate aim. We also do not have the right to pass off what we want for reality, however: we will hardly be able to surpass today's targets for paid services by the end of the 13th Five-Year Plan. Although, of course, the search for reserves will be continued.

[Meshcherin] The removal of "non-standard" enterprises and organizations from the orbit of paid public services is undoubtedly a great help. But is it right to demand the participation of every enterprise without exception in this program? Won't a valuable undertaking run up against the rails of formalism with such a "universal" scope?

[Khodzhamuradov] Candidly speaking, we have not encountered in practice a collective that would not have real possibilities for rendering paid services... It is even difficult for me to imagine such a situation. After all, if an enterprise or organization has a truck, it can organize shipping, a typist can fill an order for the typing of course work, and an electrician or cleaner can make house calls. It is entirely realistic for acting halls to organize evening theater shows, and a sports school can offer group exercise classes. These are the most superficial reserves

of small "non-standard" organizations. The opportunities are much greater for major enterprises. But, I repeat, practically all collectives have reserves for the rendering of paid services.

It is another matter if not all executives understand the advantages of providing their own (and not just their own) workers with essential paid services. In reality, the direct impact from this sphere of activity is most often insignificantly reflected in economic indicators—the amounts of work are not great. But what if you change the point of view? About 364,000 bus trips were disrupted last years in the cities of the republic, for example. Dozens of people late for work are behind each of those disruptions. It is no secret to anyone that many workers waste lots of time looking for a plumber or electrician or waiting for a telephone repairman. Isn't it in the interests of the enterprise to remove this and other problems from the agenda?

An understanding of this seemingly obvious truth comes with difficulty. Moreover all-union-subordinate enterprises, whose business it should be to serve as an example for the whole republic, have proven to be extremely intractable partners on questions of organizing services...

[Meshcherin] But it is also possible to "use authority." The duty of coordinating their plans with the ispolkoms of the local soviets is imposed on all associations, enterprises and organizations regardless of their affiliation...

[Khodzhamuradov] That is so. And the ispolkoms of the local soviets are not disinterested observers. Differences of opinion, however, are permitted when the issue is increasing the plan by 5 percent, let alone 15. And what if the target of the all-union ministry for its own enterprise is half, or even more times, lower than actual capabilities? The enterprises of the USSR Minneftprom [Ministry of the Petroleum Industry], for example, offered 71 rubles 66 kopecks of services per worker for the country overall, while on the territory of the republic it was 36 rubles 74 kopecks. An analogous situation also exists with the enterprises of USSR Minneftekhimprom [Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry], USSR Minvodkhos [Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources] and other all-union ministries. The products of all-union-subordinate enterprises comprise over 40 percent of the volume of industrial production of Turkmenistan. The proportionate share of wages paid at these enterprises was correspondingly high as well. It is accordingly not only the local authorities who should be disturbed by the disposition of population income. In any case, the plans for paid services by all-union-subordinate enterprises should not be lower than the targets set by republic enterprises—this is now 95 rubles per capita, and in succeeding years this level



will be raised. It is thus very important that the all-union ministries support our attempts to make cardinal improvements in the system of services offered to the population.

[Meshcherin] Annamurad Khodzhamuradovich, much organizational work and, evidently, no small material expenditures are required in order to triple the volume of paid services over 10 years. Please tell us about the resources that will provide for the fulfillment of the targets.

[Khodzhamuradov] In the first stage, a material return can be obtained through the imposition of elementary order and raising the personal responsibility of personnel for putting internal reserves and opportunities for increasing paid services into action. Judge for yourself: up until now the overwhelming majority of the domestic-services enterprises have been operating on one shift, and they even "relax" on Saturdays and Sundays, that is, precisely when the demand for such services is especially high. A whole series of domestic-services enterprises are not so much filling the orders of the public as they are those of organizations and institutions. The share of such operations for the Serakhs Domestic-Services Combine last year was 58 percent, while it was 44.2 percent for the Kaakhka Combine and 43 percent for the Geok-Tepe Combine. Only half of containers with domestic items were delivered to the station using a transport agency in Krasnovodsk. But after all, people are not carrying the containers on their own shoulders! These and many other services are offered by people on the side using state transport, and for increased prices as well.

Such examples could be cited forever. In order to put an end to them, we don't need "cerebral attacks" and additional capital spending. We just need discipline and organization.

The enterprises of the Ministry of Consumer Services [Minbyt] today provide a third of the republic's volume of paid services. And these enterprises will preserve their commanding position in the sphere of services in the future as well. A dynamic and confident increase in the amount of domestic services is underway today. The technical level of the enterprises is extremely low, however, and the material base of the services system has been neglected to the limit. It will not be possible to get by here without considerable capital investments or improvements in the system of material and technical supply for the enterprises. The Presidium of the TuSSR Council of Ministers recently investigated these issues in particular. Specific assignments to satisfy the needs of domestic-services enterprises have been given to Gosstab and the Ministry of Trade of the republic. Some 400 new offices, shops and workshops have been opened in the republic since the beginning of the five-year plan. Some 57 consumer-services facilities have been built using the resources of industrial enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhoses along with deductions from housing construction. Some 11 new dry-cleaning plants and 8 for the

cleaning of linens have been organized in rayon centers. Three brick plants—a good base for expanding services—will be transferred to the republic Minbyt in the near future.

The preparations of domestic-services enterprises for conversion to full economic accountability and self-financing are being completed, and forms of organizing work and wages by agreement and contract are being actively incorporated. Today some 24.3 percent of the workers in domestic services are working on a contract basis, and 32.7 percent of service workers are using team contracts. I think that improving the mechanism of economic operation in the sphere of paid services will reveal many reserves.

As for the "non-standard" organizations and enterprises, they have a real opportunity for taking on a quarter of the entire volume of paid services. It is true that today many business managers are still in somewhat of a state of confusion—they do not know how to organize matters yet. On-the-spot seminars have been organized for them with the participation of specialists from TuSSR Gosplan, TuSSR Goskomstat and republic ministries and departments. A group of key workers from the republic has visited Norilsk, a mining and metallurgical combine known across the country for its high achievements in the sphere of paid services. This experience is wholly acceptable under our conditions, where no small portion of the populated areas are grouped around major industrial enterprises. We are therefore working on incorporating the experience of the Norilsk workers.

We are also looking for "internal" experience. The collectives of the Druzhba Kolkhoz in Deynauskiy Rayon and the Ashkhabad Silk Mill imeni March 8 have had good results in rendering paid services...

[Meshcherin] In Mary Oblast I was told about the local Merv Cooperative, where the labor of a hundred people, half of whom are housewives and retirees, has been organized. Over six months the cooperative has devised products and offered services for almost a million rubles. Would that we had more such helpers!

[Khodzhamuradov] Our republic was severely criticized at the last session of the USSR Supreme Soviet for insufficient attention to the development of the cooperative movement. Whereas cooperatives offered domestic services of 25 kopecks per capita on average for the country overall in 1987, it was just 6 kopecks in Turkmenistan.

It is, of course, too early to be speaking of cardinal changes. But I feel that the correct conclusions have been drawn from the criticism. Over a hundred cooperatives in public domestic services are operating in the republic today. Over the first half of 1988 they offered 1.8 million rubles worth of services. This is almost three percent of the overall volume of domestic services.

The rapid development of the system of paid services can be ensured only with the utilization of all existing reserves, including with the aid of cooperatives as well. Facilities have thus been allocated for cooperatives along with assistance in acquiring raw and other materials, and they are leasing equipment and tools on a contract basis. The domestic-services enterprises are turning more and more to retirees and housewives for assistance. About four thousand people are engaged in individual labor activity in the republic overall. These indicators are not large in and of themselves, but they typify a favorable trend.

[Meshcherin] And a question that probably interests all readers: won't the increased attention to expanding paid services lead to the disappearance of free services?

[Khodzhamuradov] I will look at what is assumed by this question. There can be no discussion of paid polyclinics displacing free ones. I don't think anyone will get it into

his head to charge for study groups at retirement homes. But you can't ride around on official transport for personal purposes now. But isn't that fair?

As for clubs and sporting institutions, it is very hard to believe that they are actively engaged in free group work now. The work is underway on paper, but the offices and auditoriums are really empty. It is enough to say that on the average each of the 1,300 club institutions in the republic earns less than a ruble a day! How does this indicator jive with the glowing colors of the reports? It doesn't take much work to exaggerate the quantity of free functions, and the risk isn't all that great. Paid services are not exaggerated, and this means that club workers will have to display genuine activeness to fulfill the plans. Who loses from this arrangement of the matter? Probably not the workers... We have one path—we must work creatively, think and solve the urgent problems.



**ArSSR: Raykom Monthly Newspaper Meant to Foster Worker-Party Dialogue**

18300153a Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian  
28 Oct 88 p 3

[Article by V. Vlasenko: "First Issue of 'Dialogue' Appears"]

[Text] The first issue of the newspaper ERKKHOSUT-YUN ("Dialogue") has appeared on the basis of the in-house newspapers of the Nairit and Kirovets scientific production associations and organized on the initiative of the Leninskiy Rayon party committee.

A statement by the editors to the readers notes that the main goal of putting out the newspaper is creation of a businesslike and open discussion between the workers, the population and the rayon leadership in order to invigorate the work of restructuring, democratization and glasnost. Residents and workers in the rayon will be able to turn in writing to the Leninskiy Rayon Committee of the Armenian Communist Party via "Dialogue" or they can call using the phone number that is given. The newspaper will come out once a month. All the in-house papers in the rayon—those of the Armelektromash production association, the Masis POO [expansion not given], the tire plant and the worsted combine—will take part in publishing it.

The first issue of "Dialogue" contains materials of varied genre and theme. It publishes a report on the work of the rayon party committee buro, which discussed the question of progress being made to follow up on critical observations addressed to enterprises and institutions in the rayon by the central, republic, and city press. A note entitled "Demonstrate Activeness" talks about preparations for the 34th Rayon Party Conference, with the aim that communists along with all workers in the rayon assist in this work through their own specific comments and proposals. An article by the deputy chairman of the Leninskiy Rayon soviet executive committee, R. Nersesyan, "On Paths for the Development of Cooperation" talks about increasing the production of consumer goods and expanding paid services. The chief doctor at Children's Clinical Hospital No 3, O. Narzaryan, as a member of the rayon party committee, discusses how it is fulfilling its functions. Materials are published about shortcomings in the matter of implementing the school reform and the tasks of pedagogical collectives. Under the rubric "A Meeting for You", there is a report by a deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet, the director of school No. 86, K. Martirosyan, about the 18 July 1988 session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

There is also an article about raising ecological discipline, which criticizes the Nairit scientific production association, the Polivinilatsetat production association, and a number of other chemical enterprises, and a report on help given by the labor collectives of the rayon to the population of Nargorniy Karabakh. The issue carries reports from the enterprises about fulfillment of the plan

assignments for the third year of the five-year plan and about the introduction into production of various rationalization proposals. The rubric "A critical lens" is placed on the fourth page.

"The newspaper 'Dialogue' will be distributed in all labor collectives and at places of residence via the housing operation sector [ZhEU]," says the first secretary of the Leninskiy Rayon party committee, Leonid Ivanovich Gustin. "People have been ill informed about the life of the rayon. And we wanted to resolve the problem of glasnost, so that every resident and worker becomes an active participant in the transformations which are now being carried out within our rayon, so that they are currently aware of the work of the rayon party committee and the rayon soviet executive committee, of the rayon Komsomol and peoples control committees. We want to attract people into an active dialogue, which will help us in efforts to focus attention on the questions which they have raised."

"Dialogue" is also a control by the people over the activities of the leadership of the rayon. Besides the telephone number at the newspaper, there is a special journal in the rayon party committee for suggestions and remarks. And people are already calling; they are already coming in. This is a cause for joy.

The next issue of "Dialogue" is being prepared by the collective of the in-house newspaper at the worsted combine.

**ArSSR: Cooperative Provides Cable TV, Sees Expanded Service**

18300153b Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian  
1 Oct 88 p 2

[Article by S. Babadzhyanyan: "Television Transmissions by Cable"]

[Text] The residents of Ashtarak have received the possibility of watching television of a fundamentally new quality. Engineers and designers of the Servis cooperative here implemented cable television transmission and have essentially completed this work in almost all sectors of the city. In more than 1800 apartments the programs of Moscow and Armenian television are being received not through an antennas, but by cable line. Thanks to this, a closed system of transmissions is being created, one which totally excludes technical interference and ensures clarity and sharpness of the picture and of color. Although Ashtarak is situated close to Yerevan, the complicated terrain had not prohibited a guarantee of picture sharpness everywhere. And this gave rise to the interesting initiative of the young specialists.

The chairman of the cooperative, an aviation engineer by specialty, Bagram Botsinyan, and his comrades at work, on the basis of studio equipment and apparatus which they built themselves have created a complex that receives all-union and republic television programs and

reproduces them on television screens. The system is also capable of receiving satellite signals, which considerably broadens the effectiveness of the innovation.

Introduction does not involve large material expenditures as cable production waste products are being used for the cable and a small area in the Ashtarak house of everyday life [dom byta] has been allocated for a studio. As regards the broad introduction of cable television, this it will be repaid a hundredfold. Besides a sharp improvement in the quality of transmissions, the need for thousands of collective and individual antennas and for a large number of relay installations is eliminated.

In the future, Servis will be expanding its activities also to Yerevan, Dilizhan, and Charentsavan, where branches of the cooperative are being established.

"To ensure high quality transmission is not the final goal for us," says V. Botsinyan. "The potentials of cable television are much broader. By means of cable television it is possible to comment on all events which occur within a rayon or a city, to organize discussions on patriotic and special themes, to create an information service."

**NKAO Debate Continues in Articles Published by  
Azerbaijani, Armenian Press**

**Armenian Legal Claims Questioned**

*18300160 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian  
27 Oct 88 p 3*

[Article by A. Kocharov, lawyer, member of the USSR Union of Journalists and the Soviet Association of International Law: "Our House is a Common One"]

[Text] I am a careful reader of many newspapers. I am especially interested in the current press. Yet at times I as a jurist have difficulty in refraining from comment on certain publications. What am I referring to?

On 14 July of this year on the pages of BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY there appeared an article published by Doctor of Historical Sciences D. Guliyev regarding the history of formation of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. On 29 September 1988 an article appeared in the newspaper KOMMUNIST (Yerevan) by Doctor of Historical Sciences Kh. Barsegyan, devoted to this same problem. [For translations of these articles, see the SOVIET UNION; POLITICAL AFFAIRS series, JPRS-UPA-88-044, 3 October 1988, pages 1-7; and JPRS-UPA-88-052, 15 November 1988, pages 3-7.]

I have no doubt that both scientists do not question the obvious fact that Nagorni Karabakh is Soviet territory. This, it would seem, says it all. Unfortunately, however, such inconsistent opinions were expressed here that one simply cannot keep quiet about them, particularly since they touch upon the juridical aspect of the question. I am referring to the article by Kh. Barsegyan, "Truth is Dearer" (dealing with the article by D. Guliyev, "From Positions of Internationalism..."), published in KOMMUNIST on 29 September 1988, which expressed a clear disregard for the law. Affirming that sooner or later the problem of Nagorni Karabakh will find its just solution in the sense of its annexation to the Armenian SSR, Barsegyan adds the following here in parentheses:

"(Article 78 of the Constitution will not be a hindrance to this. We need only time, patience, and more inspiration by perestroika and the democratization of Soviet society)".

Furthermore, the scientist pathetically continues, outside the parentheses: "As a historian I have stood and will continue to stand by this position as the **only historically correct one**. And no one can force us to retreat from the truth by means of pressure".

Before expressing my point of view as a jurist, I would like to point out that no one exerted any pressure on the honorable Kh. Barsegyan, and this is quite evident. To be quite frank, Kh. Barsegyan is among those who believes it possible to place the stake on forceful means through infamous meetings and senseless demonstrations.

Now I will allow myself as a jurist to deal with the fact that, in the opinion of the respected scientist, "it will not be a hindrance" in the desire to realize the dangerous aspiration. Article 78 of the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) states:

"The territory of a union republic cannot be altered without its consent. The boundaries between the union republics may be changed by mutual agreement of the appropriate republics, and subject to ratification by the USSR."

Let us turn to the Constitution of the Azerbaijan SSR, Article 70 of which states: "The territory of the Azerbaijan SSR cannot be altered without its consent..."

Finally, and this I would especially like to stress, according to the sense of Article 4 of the Azerbaijan SSR Land Codex, "in accordance with the USSR Constitution and the Constitution of the Azerbaijan SSR, the land is under state ownership—the common property of all the Soviet people" (boldface mine—A.K.).

We will note that exactly the same principles are contained also in the Constitution and Land Codex of the Armenian SSR. It stems from this that the boundaries between the fraternal union republics bear a symbolic character. And if according to the Constitution of the Azerbaijan SSR the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast is found within its confines, is this a reason to build a tragedy in the 71st year of Soviet rule?!

In light of these constitutional principles, all discussions of the so-called Karabakh problem in the sense that it is interpreted by Kh. Barsegyan are unfounded and pointless. The Constitution is the Basic Law of the country and the republic. Anything that contradicts this law should be viewed as illegal and anti-constitutional. Yet we strive toward the creation of a socialist legal state whose main characteristic will be to in fact ensure supremacy of power, as M. S. Gorbachev stated in his speech at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference: "Not one state organ, official, collective, party or social organization, not one person, is absolved of the responsibility of being subject to the law. Just as citizens bear the responsibility before their all-people's state, so the state power also bears responsibility before the citizens". After this do we need to talk about how the position of the honored scientist contradicts the Basic Law?

Now I would like to speak of responsibility. According to Barsegyan it turns out as follows: A political solution to the problem and its discussion do not enter into the competency of the scientist, yet the party and government are working on bringing the problem out of a dead end. They turn to the people, and specifically to the intelligentsia, in search of a correct means of resolving the problem. Yet, Barsegyan continues, it is the scientists who are charged with the high responsibility for a truthful illumination of our country's history.

It would be permissible to ask: What scientist does not understand that the national territory is the property of the people populating it, regardless of their national affiliation. What scientist finds it favorable under conditions of Soviet reality, making excursions into history and in the presence of a constitutionally resolved question, to strive toward re-apportioning our common Soviet land?..

The questions can go on and on. Yet I must pose one more question: What is the responsibility of the scientists who share the point of view of the honored doctor of sciences, for the appearance in our time, in our reality, and in our life... of refugees? Can this be forgiven? Refugees in our Soviet family! I was recently in Stepanakert and saw the burned-out homes of Azerbaijani families. Close and trusted friends told me of this same disgrace and lawlessness in Shusha against Armenian families. Are these not the consequences, if you will pardon the expression, of the positions of the "fair resolution", of a question which has been fabricated out of thin air? The task and the responsibility of the scientist, and especially the intellectual, today consist not of petty intrigues and excursions into the past for the purpose of clouding the present day, but of cementing internationalism and friendship of the fraternal Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples. It is this which we must undertake, instead of running away to our national corners and glowering at each other. No one, especially our children and their children, will ever forgive all of us or any other representative of the Soviet intelligentsia for those seeds of hatred and discord which have been sown in our time and which they would like to sow in the souls and hearts of the youth.

The friendship of the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples is unique. It not only has its sources and traditions, but also its own science, about which more than one generation will write with pride. I am more than convinced that the artificially created hatred will subside. The people who are wrong will see the light and return to their homes. But even then we—the intellectuals—will not be free from the answer to the question: What did each of us do to promote harmony and peace in our common house? And then we will have to answer before our peoples for the present-day unrest, the mutual insults and humiliations, the shameful accusations of genocide levelled at a fraternal people.

I have only to add that not only the Armenians and not only the NKAO, but also the Azerbaijanis are worthy of a normal, peaceful, and good life. It is no secret that under the former leadership of the republic and the oblast, persons of Azerbaijani nationality suffered along with the Armenians. There are no words, and here we are in agreement with Kh. Barsegyan: Many problems have accumulated in Nagorniy Karabakh, as they have everywhere, and they must be resolved. But not by that means and not by those methods which the respected scientists and the proponents of his position propose. All of us must go to the masses, to the people, to our Soviet

citizens, our comrades and brothers, and explain the need to reject the mutual accusations and insults, the need to smoothe out relations, the need to restore the former brotherhood between our peoples.

I often have occasion to visit different regions, including also Nagorniy Karabakh. I have very many friends and acquaintances in Stepanakert, which is dear to my heart. And, in speaking with them alone or in small company, I am convinced that the people hold the correct international positions and condemn all that goes beyond the framework of legality, law and order, and decency. The people understand perfectly well that the law and friendship are above all else, and in this they see the guarantee of tomorrow.

#### **Azerbaijani Claim Called 'Lie'**

18300160 Yerevan KOMSOMOLETS in Russian  
5 Nov 88 p 3

[Article by Kh. A. Barsegyan, doctor of historical sciences, professor: "Again Instead of Truth—Lies"]

[Text] On 27 October of this year, BAKINSKIY RABOCHIIY published the article entitled "Our House is a Common One". Its author, a certain A. Kocharov, who certifies himself to be a lawyer and a member of the USSR Union of Journalists and the Soviet Association of International Law, has taken up the baton of D. Guliyev and "discourses" on the supposedly fabricated problem of Nagorniy Karabakh and on its illumination in our publications.

We would not consider it necessary to react to such a weak effort at illuminating the monumentally important problem of Nagorniy Karabakh from a legal standpoint, and about which M. S. Gorbachev said the following at the meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on 18 July 1988: "No one doubts the fact that the problem of Nagorniy Karabakh exists and must be resolved" (PRAVDA, 20 July 1988). In this case, we are primarily puzzled by the line of BAKINSKIY RABOCHIIY, founded by the fervent internationalists S. Shaymyan and A. Dzhaparidze, which, forgetting the glorious traditions of the Bolshevik press, grossly violates journalistic ethics and ignores the resolution of the 19th All-Union Party Conference entitled "On Glasnost [Openness]". This resolution states that a necessary requirement in the sphere of glasnost must be "the right of every citizen subjected to criticism to publish a substantiated rebuttal in the same press organ".

Let us remind the reader what this discussion was about. On 15 June 1988 the Yerevan newspaper KOMMUNIST published our article entitled "Studying History. Internationalism and Armenian Soviet Historiography" in its column entitled "Towards the 19th All-Union Party Conference". This article gave a brief historiographical description of the problem of inter-national

relations, presented some proposals for the party conference, and noted that there are certain "gaps" and violations of Leninist national policy in the illumination of inter-national relations, while Armenian historiography, though having a number of achievements, unfortunately has overlooked such an important problem as the scientific illumination of the socio-economic and political history of Nagorniy Karabakh—Artsakh. The [article] also recounted the history of the creation of the NKAO. Specifically, it stated that "Nagorniy Karabakh is part of Armenia, the primary bridge joining the Armenian people with Russia. It is specifically Karabakh that is that part of Armenia which first came in contact with the Russian people, and it is here that the Russian political orientation of the Armenians was formulated," etc. This is the main idea which runs through the article, and it is specifically this problem which is the center of attention of the party and the government, who spare no effort to bring it out of this dead end. We cannot close our eyes to the existing situation and as before, in the spirit of the times of stagnation, sing the praises of the friendship of peoples—"Gardash oluf Ayastan—Azerbaijan".

As far as we can tell by the responses, readers received our article with satisfaction. The only one who did not like it was Doctor of Historical Sciences Guliyev, who quite uniquely and without proper argumentation reacted to it in the issue of BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY dated 14 July 1988. We did not leave his publication unanswered, and immediately sent the article "The Truth is Dearer..." to BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in the hope that it would be published. Our goal was to lead the readers out of the confusion into which they were cast thanks to D. Guliyev. However, the Baku newspaper did not react to our article, which forced us to publish it in the Yerevan newspaper KOMMUNIST on 29 September 1988. We need not deal with it here. The reader can himself refer to our response to the Azerbaijani scientist. After all, D. Guliyev never did respond to our publication. Evidently, he nevertheless, as a historian, correctly understood us and became convinced that it is impossible to prove the unprovable...

Now, however, a new opus is appearing in BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, this time by the lawyer and journalist A. Kocharov, who in his article sooner embodies the former stagnant times, closes his eyes to the historical injustice which is taking place in regard to Artsakh, ignores such a blatant, shameful fact of current inter-national relations in our common house as the Sumgait pogroms, and bases his reasoning on the appropriate articles of the Constitution which were conceived in the stagnant years and which have currently been presented for public discussion.

Did A. Kocharov need to focus so stubbornly on the articles of the Constitutions of the USSR, the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR when it is obvious that if a constitution is not continually updated in accordance with the dynamics of the socio-political and economic development of the country, it will inevitably become a lifeless

relic of the Brezhnev epoch which gave rise to it. The current general public discussion of the amendments to the Constitution are proof of this fact. Only in this way can we ensure and guarantee the existence of a legal state.

Today times have changed. Perestroyka and reform of the socio-political and economic life will also say a weighty word. Why is it that this idea does not occur to A. Kocharov?

The article, which smacks of the attitude of the loyal subject, pursues the goal of being liked by the masters, and specifically: it strives to present the just cause of reunification of the Karabakh Armenians with their mother-Homeland—Soviet Armenia, as merely an ego-tistical aspiration toward the territorial revision of the map of the republics, foreign to Leninist national policy and to Soviet society. Our Azerbaijani countryman should know, if he is really familiar with the Mesropov letters, that self determination of a nation, and in this case its reunification, does not constitute territorial claims, but rather the correction of an historical error allowed in the years of Stalinism. It is an all-people's rise in defense of the Karabakh Armenians, engendered by the new course of the party toward perestroyka, by glasnost and democratization of Soviet society.

It is symptomatic that A. Kocharov does not want to consider history and even suggests that we not take excursions into history. We are not Ivans who have forgotten our heritage. We remember our roots and our history very well, and draw lessons from them.

A. Kocharov not only does not want to turn to history, but also to the events taking place in recent tumultuous months in the region: Sumgait, Shusha, Khodzhal, and other places. Could it be that the court cases of Sumgait criminals and murderers which are heard in Moscow, Sumgait and other cities do not pass through the mind of the "authority on legal questions"? After all, according to official reports, over 90 Azerbaijanis participated in the Sumgait pogroms of the Armenians, and their atrocities, which have already been publicized in the press, could shock any civilized person. Hasn't A. Kocharov heard the cynical statements of the pogrom-makers: "To kill Armenians", "We are not criminals or robbers. We have only come to kill Armenians"? Didn't the author of the article feel a pang of conscience? Is this how we are to live in our "common house"?...

In such questions we are more likely to believe another lawyer—Ruben Saakyan, who participated in the Sumgait proceedings and was forced to leave Sumgait because of threats from the relatives of the accused and the dark forces.

"The history of the country's legal proceedings," he stresses, "has never known such an example... 'Sumgait' cannot be erased from the history of the pages of

inter-national relations in our country. The new juridical category of 'Sumgait' cannot be torn out of the thousands of pages of Soviet legal proceedings..." (KOMMUNIST, 30 October 1988).

Thus, any thinking person understands fully that the Sumgait killings were not "hooligan pranks", but rather an organized crime. As the court proceedings showed, there were organizers behind the prgram-makers. Even though much is still unclear in the Sumgait tragedy, nevertheless the inaction of the local militia and other law enforcement organs already cannot be disputed. As for A. Kocharov's reproach regarding the fact that the fraternal people (i.e., the Azerbaijanis—Kh. B.) are accused of genocide, we may note that this is a deliberate misinterpretation of the ideas expressed in our articles. We never confuse a people with its dregs, its outcasts. Nevertheless, we should remind Kocharov of the definition of genocide as specified in the "juridical encyclopedia..." which is well known to him. It states: "Genocide is one of the forms of inter-national crimes consisting of the physical extermination of entire population groups based on racial, national, ethnic or religious principles... Genocide consists of actions performed for the purpose of annihilating fully or partially some national, ethnic, racial or religious group as such... In the national-cultural sphere, the destruction of language, religion or culture are classed as genocide..." ("Juridical Encyclopedic Dictionary", M., 1984, 60 p).

A. Kocharov writes that "we are among those who consider it possible to place our stake on forceful means through infamous meetings and senseless demonstrations". On what basis does the lawyer come to such a conclusion? Furthermore, who gave him the right to cast aspersions on a popular movement, which is in fact a front for the support of the policy of perestroyka, for the struggle against bureaucracy, falsifiers of history, and those who take someone else's history and values for themselves.

Back in March of this year I stated in PRAVDA: "The problem of Nagorniy Karabakh is at the center of attention of the party and the government, and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev himself. Karabakh has become the concern of the entire country and all the people".

Today we also maintain this same point of view, that **the just demand of the Armenian population of the NKAO has not been erased from the order of the day and must find its true political resolution.**

Why is such a path unacceptable for A. Kocharov, who views this problem in a juridical plane? He is consistent in his argumentation... If indeed we all live in a common house (which, of course is correct, referring to Soviet society—our socialist Homeland) and the boundaries between the republics bear a "symbolic character", then why are those people, including D. Guliyev, so upset by the fact that Nagorniy Karabakh is within the confines of the Armenian SSR? After all, according to their logic, we too may affirm: What difference does it make whose administrative-territorial jurisdiction the NKAO is under? Let it be under ours, i.e., within the confines of Armenia. For about 70 years the NKAO was within the confines of the "symbolic" boundaries of Azerbaijan and reaped the harvest of its "unique" socio-economic and cultural policy of Azerbaijani leadership, which brought the region to a state of crisis. It is specifically these "symbolic" boundaries which did not allow the Armenians of Karabakh to join in the social and cultural life of its blood-related Armenian SSR for decades. Even now these "symbolic" boundaries are difficult to cross for the Armenians (facts—Khodzhalu and others).

Such is the bitter reality of the past and, unfortunately, also the present, which lawyer A. Kocharov, for reasons quite understandable to us, did not dare to enter on the pages of the Baku newspaper.

We can understand A. Kocharov in a worldly way (though not in a humanitarian way).

...We can understand, but we cannot forgive. As a consolation we can only suggest that A. Kocharov re-read (or read for the first time) the novel of Sero Khanzadyana "Mkhitar-Sparapet"...

...Having read A. Kocharov's article, we come to a disquieting conclusion: Once again instead of the truth there are lies.



**Rescinded 1946 Journal Decree Discussed**  
*18000153 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA*  
*in Russian 30 Oct 88 p 3*

[Interview with G. I. Barinova, chief of the Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the CPSU Oblast Committee, and L. E. Varustin, first deputy editor-in-chief of the journal Zvezda, by M. Ilina and Ye. Kholshchevnikova, correspondents of LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA; date and place not specified; not specified which correspondent conducted which interview; first eight paragraphs are LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Recently a report was published in the newspaper that at the session of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee of 20 October the decree of the VKP(b) of 14 August 1946 "On the Journals ZVEZDA and LENINGRAD was repealed as mistaken.

These days quite a number of calls have been heard in the editorial offices: Leningraders expressed the desire to become acquainted with this document. Today we are expounding it.

We are also printing the discussions of our correspondents apropos of this decree with the chief of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the CPSU Oblast Committee, G. I. Barinova, and the first deputy editor-in-chief of the journal ZVEZDA, L. E. Varustin.

The document states:

"Having examined the appeal of the writers of the USSR (comrade G. M. Markov) and the Leningrad CPSU Obkom (Yu. F. Solov'ev) to the CPSU Central Committee concerning the repeal of the decree of the VKP(b) Central Committee of 14 August 1946 "On the Journals ZVEZDA and LENINGRAD," the CPSU Central Committee notes that in the indicated decree of the VKP(b) Central Committee the Leninist principles of work with the artistic intelligentsia were distorted and that eminent Soviet writers were subjected to unfounded and crude criticism.

The policy being conducted by the party in the conditions of revolutionary restructuring in the sphere of literature and art has practically repudiated and overcome these propositions and conclusions, the good name of the writers has been restored, and their works have been returned to the Soviet reader.

The CPSU Central Committee decrees: "To repeal the decree of the VKP(b) Central Committee "On the Journals ZVEZDA and LENINGRAD" as mistaken."

[Question] Galina Ivanovna, how do you assess this event?

[Answer] I am satisfied that Justice—and this word with a capital letter—has triumphed. I am glad that the appeal of the Leningrad Obkom and writer's organization about the restoration of the good name of a number of a number of Leningrad writers has been accepted. Thereby we have made our contribution to the atonement of the—for our generation involuntary—guilt before the writers who were subjected to crude criticism, and, above all, before such outstanding talents as Anna Akhmatova and Mikhail Zoshchenko.

In the repealed decree, both the Party Gorkom and LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA were subjected to criticism. Thereby the accusation has also been removed from them.

It is very important that the repeal of this decree once again underscores the necessity of the observance of the Leninist norms of work with the creative intelligentsia. Today, when the democratization of our society and our entire life is proceeding on such a broad front, it is very important for the party and creative workers to develop the sort of style of joint relations in which there would be no place for command instructions and volitional decisions. I do not repudiate a meaningful argument, a sharp collision of views on fundamental positions. But this must be, in my view, an argument whose result is business. And, I add, understanding.

[Question] An example of such understanding, in particular, is the document about which we are speaking. In it is indicated that the initiative concerning the repeal of the decree of 1946 was launched by the USSR Union of Writers and the Leningrad CPSU Obkom. But who turned to the Obkom with this matter?

[Answer] Many writers and cultural figures talked about this both in their speeches in the creative unions and in letters addressed to the Party Oblast Committee. At its general meeting, the Leningrad writer's organization adopted the decision to turn with such a proposal to the 19th Party Conference. This appeal, as the readers will remember, was published in LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA.

[Question] The repealed decree concerns the journals ZVEZDA and LENINGRAD. In Zhdanov's conclusion at the meeting of the aktiv of the Leningrad city party organization, which took place at the time in August 1946, there was talk to the effect that in our city there are insufficient literary forces for the publication of two journals. LENINGRAD was then liquidated. Today it is legitimate to raise the question about its restoration.

[Answer] Yes, we should think about this. All the more so because the hunger for publications of our own in our city is very great and the journal ISKUSSTVO LENINGRADA that is now being created by itself will not alleviate it by any means. Time and again the question was raised in the creative unions to the effect that the Leningrad departments of the publishing houses

"Sovetskiy pisatel" and "Detskaya literatura" should receive independent status. At present this question is being examined by the Leningrad organization; we support it, as well as another important matter—the restoration of the department of the publishing house "Molodaya gvardiya", which existed in Leningrad at one time—a proving ground for the forces of young, to be exact Leningrad, authors.

[Question] The decree about the journals ZVEZDA and LENINGRAD is inseparably linked with the name of Zhdanov. He gave the major speech and spoke before the communists and writers of Leningrad, every time speaking crudely and abusively about the creative work and the personality of those being criticized. This, you see, in particular served as the reason for the fact that the general meeting of the collective of Leningrad State University petitioned to have the name of Zhdanov removed from this academic institution. In connection with the repealed decree, it is appropriate now to recall this as well. Is this question being resolved?

[Answer] A great many letters on this subject are being addressed to us in the Party Oblast Committee. The CPSU Obkom has supported the petition of the University and has turned with such a proposal to the Central Committee of the party. In my view, the solution of this question cannot be put off. But it should also be remembered that in our city the Pioneer Palace, a rayon, a plant, an embankment, and a street. . . bear the name of Zhdanov. And in the country there are many such names. For this reason, the question must be solved not only for Leningrad, but in general. In the spirit of the revolutionary restructuring that is taking place in the country.

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[Question] What significance, in your view, does the repeal of the decree have?

[Answer] To give a short answer to this question is extremely difficult. The thing is that the decree of 14 August 1946 struck not only at the indicated journals. It tragically affected the fate of many Leningrad writers and disturbed the natural development of the self-development of literature. Moreover, having distorted the ideological-artistic criteria that had stood their ground in revolutionary Marxist criticism for the assessment of art to please momentary political interests, it introduced disorder and disturbance into editorial and publishing work. For many years, A. Akhmatova and M. Zoshchenko, first class and original writers, were not published. Preference was given, especially during the first years after the adoption of the decree, to the works of the political loyal, who glorified our "achievements." But on the other hand, the manuscripts which were marked by a problematic character and the sharpness of critical thought, traversed a thorny path.

It is characteristic that even in 1983 ZVEZDA was prohibited from publishing the article "V. V. Mayakovskiy and M. M. Zoshchenko," prepared for the 90th anniversary of the poet's birthday. "The decree of 1946 has not been repealed, and therefore the journal is not authorized to mention the name of Zoshchenko in a positive light"—it was explained by the censors. Such was the direct influence of the decree. It also had an indirect influence. It expressed itself in the very atmosphere of general literary work, in the growth of suspicion and in the search for political mistakes in artistic works. Real moral values went down in price—the spirit of professional community, kindness, sincerity, and exactingness in literary assessments. The dismantling of Leninist conceptions of the distinctive character of artistic knowledge and the necessity of a careful attitude to talent took place in its own way. This Leninist requirement was replaced strong-willed administrative pressure. Thus the interests of the writers, cultural figures and the party were set at loggerheads and came to be opposed to each other. Naturally, all of this could not but have an effect on the moral health of society. This is the difficult legacy from which we are parting. And in this open break with the anti-democratic traditions in cultural policy is seen the positive significance of the document adopted just now.

[Question] How, in your view, does the repeal of the decree affect journalistic practice, in particular the work of ZVEZDA?

[Answer] The decree, which, as we have seen, called forth such great deformations in the spiritual sphere and infringed on the natural relations in the development of the literary process, requires great efforts for the final overcoming of its consequences. Here, it seems to me, there are organizational and more difficult spiritual and moral problems.

No matter how great the difficulties with paper and the printing press base, it is necessary to restore the publication of the journal LENINGRAD in our city of 5 million; already for quite a few years the writers' community has been trying to achieve this.

Our moral duty consists in returning from oblivion to the reader of today the names of many Leningrad writers, who, along with A. Akhmatova and M. Zoshchenko, were subjected to unjust, annihilating criticism. Among them were L. Borisov, I. Sadofyev, M. Komissarova, V. Knekht, G. Gor, S. Spasskiy, A. Khazin, G. Yagdfeld, and others. One of the first acts of ZVEZDA on account of the partial cancellation of this debt will be the sixth book of the journal for 1988. The editors intend to dedicate it to the creative work of A. Akhmatova and her literary milieu.

The repeal of the decree designates still another problem of broad public meaning. In the research of contemporary journalists and historians, in particular in the work of V. Demidov, the "Leningrad Affair"—ZVEZDA will

publish it in the first issue for 1989—shows on the basis of documents that the decree of 14 August 1946. . . was not, as we have been inclined to think, a manifestation only of the incompetence, rudeness and arrogance of A. A. Zhdanov in his approach to the phenomena of culture. The decree had deeper roots. In it found reflection the struggle for influence with Stalin, the struggle for power in the higher echelons of the party leadership. Above all Beria, and together with him Malenkov, tried by any means, including making use of the weakness and spinelessness of Zhdanov, to compromise yesterday's leaders of the Leningrad party organization who had advanced to top posts in

the state and who had achieved high authority in the eyes of the people during the years of the blockade. The decree thus was only the first step, the harbinger of the new tragedy which expressed itself in the fabrication of the so-called "Leningrad Affair," which at the end of the 1940's entailed irreversible losses. The elucidation today of all the circumstances that gave rise to the decree of 1946 is still another step toward the emancipation of our social thought and the advancement along the road of the cognition of truth and justice, without which, as we understand, the free development of really influential and truthful art is unthinkable.

**Lenin's Ideas on Komsomol Discussed**  
*18000239 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Oct 88 p 4*

[Interview with A.P. Zinovyev, doctor of historical sciences and professor of the Department of History of the CPSU at the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee, by A. Strokanov, candidate of historical sciences and head of the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Komsomol Central Committee: "Youth...Part of the Revolution"]

[Text] As we know, the 19th Party Conference pointed out the need to restore Leninist traditions of party leadership of the Komsomol. This problem is at the center of attention of party and Komsomol workers and, of course, scholars and historians. Today we are publishing an interview by A. Strokanov, candidate of historical sciences and head of the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Komsomol Central Committee, with A.P. Zinovyev, professor of the Department of History of the CPSU at the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee and doctor of historical sciences. It should be of interest to a wide circle of readers.

[Strokanov] Anatoliy Petrovich, 29 October marks 70 years since the Komsomol was formed. The time has come to analyze most carefully and objectively the Komsomol's historical path and the process of development of relations between the party and Komsomol. As in other areas of public and state life, there are quite a few "blank spots," extraneous dogmatic features, and established stereotypes here. It is no coincidence that the 19th Party Conference advocated "complete restoration of Leninist traditions of party leadership of the Komsomol and observance of its organizational independence, its right to participate in political activities and the development of policy, and to champion the interests of young people in party, Soviet and economic bodies."

[Zinovyev] I agree with you. I think this primarily is about more effective use of the potential of the Komsomol, which it undoubtedly possesses, for improving socialism, its revolutionary renewal and communist education of the rising successors. And the portion of the 19th Party Conference resolution you mentioned, "On the Course of Implementing the Decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the Tasks for Intensifying Perestroika," adopted based on M.S. Gorbachev's report, is innovative in this regard. In its essence, it is akin to V.I. Lenin's attitude toward young people and his invariably high assessment of the capabilities of young people as a revolutionary and creative force, capable of "deciding the outcome of the entire struggle..." That is, of course, with the appropriate level of party work and taking into account its features among the various categories and groups of young people and the specific historical situation. The historical experience of Bolshevism accumulated during the period when V.I. Lenin was the head of our party is evidence of this. Suffice it to

remember that during the October Revolution, young people under the age of 23 comprised almost 55 percent of the Red Guards detachments, which were the Bolsheviks' strike force.

[Strokanov] Do you mean to say that our party at that time pursued a special youth policy and constantly developed it?

[Zinovyev] Yes, V.I. Lenin and the Bolsheviks always devoted enormous attention to this matter, considering its resolution an integral part of the struggle and the work to form a political army of the revolution and for building a new society. Thus, already the Second Congress of the RSDRP [Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party] (1903) adopted, at V.I. Lenin's suggestion, the well-known resolution "On the Attitude Toward Students" and also specific requirements for improving the socio-economic situation of proletarian youth, which were set forth in the first Party Program. Or let us take another example: V.I. Lenin's introduction, with R. Luxembourg's support, of a fundamental amendment to the draft resolution of the Stuttgart Congress of the Second International "On Militarism and International Conflicts" (1907) that, from the very beginning, "working class youth should be educated in the spirit of socialism and in the consciousness of the brotherhood of peoples."

For instance, let us point out: Such an approach by the Bolshevik Party to problems of young people was not to the liking of the Mensheviks and the opportunistic leaders of the Second International, who feared the younger generation's revolutionary spirit and opposed what they considered to be too much adherence to the Bolsheviks' youth policy. V.I. Lenin decisively swept aside these sudden attacks, considering the work on ensuring an influx of new, fresh forces into the party and on the side of the revolution to be tremendously important. "We are the party of the future," Vladimir Ilich wrote in 1906, "and the future belongs to youth. We are the party of innovators, and youth always more willingly follows innovators. We are the party of selfless struggle with the old rotten stuff, and youth will always be the first to enter into selfless struggle." These Leninist principles sound just as timely today during perestroika as during the dawn of our party's history.

[Strokanov] Where, in your opinion, must we begin, if we are talking about the big picture, to restore the Leninist traditions of party leadership of the Komsomol and work among young people?

[Zinovyev] We must start with restoring in the party the Leninist attitude toward young people and the Komsomol. Under V.I. Lenin, for example, a tradition of regular examination of youth issues in the party's highest forums—at congresses, conferences and Central Committee plenums—was conceived and totally proved its value; not in general terms of resolved problems of strategy and tactics but specially, as an organic part of

work. That is how it was at the 2d, 6th, 8th and 10th-14th Party Congresses. As can be seen, the last time this issue was discussed was at the 14th VKP(b) [All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks)] Congress in December 1925. The resolution "On the Work of the Komsomol," adopted at that time based on N.I. Bukharin's report and with the participation of a commission of the congress comprised of more than 40 delegates, has not lost its topicality today on a number of aspects. After that, it was as if it was finished.

Let us turn our attention to this fact: Not at a single one of the subsequent 13 party congresses nor at the highest echelons of government were youth issues specially examined. It is hard to calculate the losses here, but a conclusion suggests itself: This Leninist tradition must be revived, for it is a question of the main business—the future of the party, the country, and socialism as a whole. Half-measures will not do here. Only the collective mind of the party combined with conducting major socio-political actions on a national scale, especially the adoption of the "Law on Youth," which today is being actively developed, will determine a strong, integral state policy regarding young people, which the 19th Party Conference also advocated.

[Strokanov] Let us return to the sources of CPSU youth policy. What are the initial and fundamental Leninist tenets for forming relations between the party and the Komsomol? Are there "blank spots" in dealing with this topic?

[Zinovyev] Unfortunately, there are quite a few omissions, inaccuracies and distortions here. As a rule, ignorance and at times a misunderstanding of the specific historical situation in which some or other work by V.I. Lenin was published are the basis for them. There are attempts to apply Lenin's tenets mechanically in other time and socio-political conditions and "to fit" them into an earlier planned scheme: They say the Komsomol was created under direct party leadership and, therefore, its interrelations with the party cannot be structured in any way other than on principle of subordination and the Komsomol's complete dependence on the party. The interpretation of V.I. Lenin's paragraph "Youth International," especially that part of it where Vladimir Ilich substantiated the need for organizational and complete independence of youth leagues, are the most graphic illustration of such a dogmatic approach.

This is precisely where there is a "blank spot," a dialectical contradiction which is not explained in our press and literature. The main thing not considered is the fact that V.I. Lenin wrote his paragraph during World War I, when the party of the Second International, with the exception of the Bolshevik Party, betrayed the cause of socialism and proletarian internationalism and advocated cooperation with the national bourgeoisie of the corresponding countries in conducting the imperialist policy of slaughtering peoples. Another cause was the

socialist working youth leagues, under whose guardianship they were initially: The majority of them, being sections of the Youth International established at K. Liebknecht's initiative in August 1907, took internationalist positions during the war and, on these grounds, broke off political and organizational ties with opportunistic social-democracy and pursued an independent anti-imperialist policy, having become, as the Third Comintern Congress (1921) later pointed out, with V.I. Lenin's participation, "the vanguard in the revolutionary struggle and politically independent organizations."

In this context, and no other, V.I. Lenin formulated the tenet in his paragraph about the complete, that is, political and organizational, independence of the youth leagues. "For complete independence of the youth leagues," emphasized Vladimir Ilich, "but also for complete freedom of friendly criticism of their mistakes! We must not flatter young people."

[Strokanov] And how were these Leninist tenets and the facts you have cited from the experience of activities of foreign youth leagues taken into account in creating the Komsomol?

[Zinovyev] In the most direct manner. At first, they were reflected in the Sixth RSDRP(b) Congress resolution "On Youth Leagues" and later, in the autumn of 1918, in accordance with the guidelines contained in it, in the First RKSM [Russian Communist Youth League] Congress program documents which announced the formation of the Komsomol as a completely independent organization in agreement with and ideologically tied to the Communist Party. The question of political subordination of the Komsomol to the party, as we understand it today, was not resolved at the First RKSM Congress. Yes, and there were no definite views on it at that time, including those of V.I. Lenin. They were formulated later.

[Strokanov] Isn't there a contradiction here? The relations of socialist working youth leagues with opportunistic social-democracy in the West is one thing; the relations of the Communist Party and the Komsomol on a united, communist platform are another. How can we understand this?

[Zinovyev] You are right, there is a contradiction here. And many authors of works on Komsomol history, being prisoners of dogmatic conceptions, are attempting in every possible way to disregard and explain it as an alleged inaccuracy in the wording of the program documents of the First RKSM Congress. Others, not having their own points of view, suppress it altogether. Meanwhile, this contradiction was soon noted by the Komsomol organizers themselves. The speech of Lazar Shatskin, secretary of the RKSM Central Committee, at the Eighth RKP(b) Congress on 22 March 1919 is quite typical in this regard. Calling attention to the need to intensify the party's work among young people and to support Komsomol activities to this end, the 16-year-old

delegate raised the issue before the party's highest forum that "it has not been established whether the league is subordinate to the party or is independent" and also introduced two specific proposals for consideration by the congress: to adopt a resolution on work among young people and to charge the RKP(b) and RKSM Central Committees to develop jointly in the shortest possible time, based on that resolution, appropriate instructions on relations between party and Komsomol organizations. These proposals were completely supported.

The Eighth Congress adopted the resolution prepared by L. Shatskin "On Work Among Young People," and soon thereafter the RKP(b) and RKSM Central Committees compiled a joint instruction about party and Komsomol relations which was approved, with V.I. Lenin's participation, at a combined meeting of the Politburo and Organization Bureau of the RKP(b) Central Committee on 6 August 1919. This was an important document which helped define more precisely than before the Komsomol's place and role in the political system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It immediately acquired international significance as well, since similar problems had arisen in connection with the formation of communist parties in the West. Therefore, L. Shatskin, who soon thereafter illegally went abroad, on V.I. Lenin's instructions, to the KIM [Communist Youth International] Founding Congress, memorized it and on 20 November 1919 set forth its content to youth league representatives in Berlin.

[Strokanov] I think the readers will be interested to learn the essence of this document.

[Zinovyev] First of all, it emphasized that the Komsomol recognizes the RKP(b) Program and tactics, is an autonomous organization, and operates under the control of the Central Committee and local party collectives. It further defined measures for mutual support of the party and Komsomol and mutual representation in ruling bodies. It especially noted the significance of the league's independence as the basis of its existence and pointed out that party control of the Komsomol should not be in the nature of guardianship and petty interference in Komsomol work and be conducted only within the framework of its Rules. That is, a form of party and Komsomol interrelations was found and strengthened which enabled the party to exert ideological and political influence on the Komsomol without violating its autonomy.

[Strokanov] How did the process of implementing these provisions proceed? Were there complications in carrying them out? This was something new and unknown.

[Zinovyev] It was difficult, extremely difficult. At that time, even many senior party officials did not understand the Komsomol's essence and purpose; some of them advocated eliminating it and establishing in its place special departments under party organizations for work among young people. This viewpoint was reflected

in the RKP(b) Rules adopted by the Eighth All-Russian Party Conference (December 1919) and later in discussions at the Ninth RKP(b) Congress in March-April and at the Ninth All-Russian Party Conference in September 1920.

The situation was aggravated by the factional actions of individual Komsomol workers and by violations of party and Komsomol discipline on their part. In addition, avant-garde trends in the KIM were intensifying at the time: The majority of its leaders and national sections, not having understood the essence of the changes which had occurred in the alignment of political forces in the international arena in connection with the formation of communist parties and the Comintern, mistakenly defended complete independence for the KSM and KIM and denied the need for political subordination of the youth leagues to the communist parties and of the KIM to the Comintern's Ispolkom. Only after V.I. Lenin's speech on "Youth Leagues' Tasks" on 2 October 1920 at the Third Komsomol Congress and his answers to delegates' questions, including on the forms of RKSM and RKP(b) interrelations, did the situation begin to change.

The RKP(b) Central Committee's letter to all provincial and district party committees, published in the 20 December 1920 issue of PRAVDA, and the Tenth RKP(b) Congress resolution "On Questions of Party Development" (its paragraph 51), which finally confirmed the Leninist model of party and Komsomol interrelations in the consciousness of communists and Komsomol members, also played an important role in this: ideological and political party leadership of the youth league, with observance of its organizational independence and its independent work forms and methods. Afterwards, this model attained international recognition at the Third Comintern Congress and the Second KIM Congress in July 1921, and was adopted by fraternal parties and youth leagues. These are very instructive pages of history, unknown, unfortunately, to the broad circle of readers of the Soviet and world public.

[Strokanov] Yes, this material is quite instructive. Intentionally or not, it is associated with the Komsomol's current problems. The stormy debates on the eve of and during the work of the 20th Komsomol Congress are still fresh in all our memories: about the uselessness of the Komsomol, that it allegedly was obsolete, etc. The same things are frequently heard even now. Therefore, in my view, we must not orate but restore the Leninist concept of the Komsomol's structure and activities, taking into account the creative use of experience accumulated earlier.

[Zinovyev] I agree with you. There is also historical experience from which to glean lessons. Both positive and negative. This is how V.I. Lenin taught us to solve problems: objectively, in conformity with the situation, in connection with other problems. Many communists and Komsomol workers of the 1920's, in passing through



the Leninist school of competence, were, without exaggeration, co-authors of the party's youth policy in the elaboration and establishment of proper party and Komsomol interrelations.

[Strokanov] Who could you name in the first place?

[Zinovyev] Among the Soviets, they were, without a doubt, Lazar Shatskin, Petr Smorodin, Nikolay Chaplin and Oskar Ryvkin; from abroad, they were Alfred Kurella (Germany), Luigi Polanno (Italy), Richard Schiller (Austria) and Alexander Likov (Bulgaria). One must also not forget Willy Munchenberger, a young comrade-in-arms of V.I. Lenin until his emigration to Switzerland. Being secretary of the KIM Ispolkom in 1919-1921, he was in avant-garde positions, but in the end, under V.I. Lenin's influence, he self-critically admitted his mistakes. Therefore, it is not a coincidence that he was the one who gave the report "The Communist International and the Communist Youth Movement" at the Third Comintern Congress, through which, with V.I. Lenin's participation, a resolution of the same name was adopted which consolidated, taking experience accumulated earlier into account, the Leninist system of views on the interrelations of communist parties and youth leagues.

[Strokanov] However, hadn't a retreat from these views already begun in the second half of the 1920's? In what was it expressed?

[Zinovyev] Yes, a deformation occurred gradually, but it began shortly after V.I. Lenin's death, when at the April 1924 RKP(b) Central Committee meeting on questions of work among young people I.V. Stalin defined the Komsomol's role as only a reserve of the party and an instrument in its hands. And although the 1924-1925 party documents still called the Komsomol called a self-governing (that is, independent) socio-political organization, the political nature of its activities was emphasized and, afterwards, it was all the more actively included in the party and state bureaucratic management system and lost its organizational independence and the right to participate in shaping party and state policy.

The essence of the Leninist principle of party leadership of the Komsomol was also distorted. During the Komsomol's tenth anniversary (1928), L.M. Kaganovich made his "contribution" to this, having emphasized that party's political and organizational leadership of the Komsomol could not be separated. Thus, from that time on, this erroneous anti-Leninist formula found life for a long time. The section "The Party and the Komsomol" of the VKP(b) Rules, adopted at the 18th Party Congress in March 1939, stated, for example, that the Komsomol conducts its work under VKP(b) guidance, that the Komsomol Central Committee is subordinate to the VKP(b) Central Committee, and that the work of local

Komsomol organizations is directed and controlled by the corresponding republic, kray, oblast, city and rayon party organizations. And that is all the interrelationships.

[Strokanov] In this regard, one is reminded of the VKP(b) Central Committee resolution "On the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Komsomol" (August 1948) which contained permission for the Komsomol Central Committee to mark 29 October 1948 as the thirtieth anniversary of the Komsomol's founding. Apparently, the Komsomol did not even have enough independence to adopt a decision on conducting its own anniversary celebration. Or let us refer to the example of the Komsomol Program: It was adopted, in various versions, at the First through Tenth Komsomol Congresses, then disappeared without a trace after the Tenth Komsomol Congress (April 1936), and its fate is completely hushed up. How would you explain these phenomena?

[Zinovyev] If I can be more specific, they are directly linked to the most tragic pages of the Komsomol's history—the destruction of the best Komsomol workers during Stalin's cult of personality and fear. Here the "blank spots" are completely covered with blood. Suffice it to say, I think, that almost 80 percent of the members and candidate members of the Komsomol Central Committee and the Komsomol Auditing Commission, elected at the Tenth Komsomol Congress, were banished from their posts and subjected to repressions. In accordance with the Komsomol Central Committee Buro decision of 3 August 1937, the stenographic report of the Tenth Komsomol Congress, which also included materials from its Program, were also withdrawn from circulation. What kind of a Komsomol Program could there be after this if it was drafted and adopted by "enemies of the people?" The question of its rehabilitation has not even been posed anywhere.

[Strokanov] In recent publications on Komsomol history, in particular, in A. Golovkov's article "Not Renouncing Oneself" (OGONYEK, 1988, No 7), the idea is conveyed that the Komsomol leadership allegedly opposed in every possible way the policy of repressions of Stalin and his entourage with respect to Komsomol personnel, as if their pogrom began after General Secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee A.V. Kosarev's 3 October 1937 note to I.V. Stalin. What is your opinion?

[Zinovyev] There are also other publications. Candidate of Historical Sciences A. Alekseyev's extensive article in MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS on 8 June of this year is distinguished, for example, by its depth and the author's attempt to ascertain the truth. As far as the above-mentioned article by A. Golovkov in OGONYEK is concerned, it is also well-known and is, in my opinion, one-sided. These are the facts.

Back in November 1922, a special body established by decision of the Party Central Committee Politburo, with the participation of V.I. Lenin, for overseeing the international activities of our youth league—a Komsomol delegation in the KIM Ispolkom. At various times it was made up of and headed by such prominent Komsomol leaders as Lazar Shatskin, Petr Petrovskiy, Yefim Tsetlin, Oskar Tarkhanov, Rafael Khitarov, Beso Lominadze, and dozens of other communists who became victims of the cult of personality in the 1930's. Between 1931 and 1937, Vasilii Chemodanov, party member of the Lenin Enrollment and one of the organizers and leaders of the Moscow Komsomol Organization, was simultaneously chairman of the Soviet delegation and secretary of the KIM Ispolkom. Together with his friend Aleksandr Kosarev, he played an active role in the international consolidation of the antifascist youth movement and in the struggle for peace, freedom and progress. They frequently visited Paris, Brussels and Geneva. And in doing this, he did himself in, or rather, the despotism of Stalin's entourage did him in.

On 7 August 1937, the Central Committee Buro removed V. Chemodanov from his post as chairman of the Komsomol delegation in the KIM Ispolkom and decided to place the issue of relieving him of his responsibilities as secretary of the KIM Ispolkom before the IKKI [Executive Committee of the Communist International] and the IKKIM [Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International]. The Komsomol Central Committee confirmed Nikolay Prokofyev, an experienced internationalist, as acting delegation chairman. A month later, he was removed from the post for loss of political vigilance and expelled from the Central Committee as unworthy of the lofty title of Central Committee member. Eh. Krasnov, who maintained ties with the General Council of the World Youth Congress For Peace in Geneva, was removed from his post in the KIM Ispolkom along with Prokofyev. As a result, all of the positions within the Soviet delegation in the KIM Ispolkom were left vacant. By a 7 October 1937 Central Committee Buro decision, they were hurriedly filled by mid-level Komsomol workers (from Moscow, Leningrad and Gorkiy) who, moreover, did not speak any foreign languages.

[Strokanov] Now let us turn to the period from the 1950's to the early the 1980's. It seems to me that by March 1954, "things were moving" to a certain degree in party and Komsomol interrelationships. It is already noticeable, in particular, in the CPSU Central Committee greeting to the 12th Komsomol Congress which called upon Komsomol organizations to restructure their work, rid their work of bureaucratic methods, be more involved with specific organizational and educational work among young people, place living people at the center of attention, and be constantly concerned about their work, life style, education and satisfying the ever-increasing interests and needs. The decisions of the 20th and 22nd Party Congresses also played an important role in this period.

[Zinoviyev] However, one cannot help but note the discrepancy which was almost immediately noticeable between the declared overall policy in party and Komsomol interrelations and their implementation, both centrally and locally. This was expressed primarily in the unwarranted guardianship of Komsomol committees and, at times, the lack of trust in the Komsomol to resolve certain problems independently.

[Strokanov] Party leadership of the Komsomol was quite contradictorily formed even in subsequent years. On the one hand, changes made to the CPSU Rules at the 23rd Party Congress were evidence of the party's growing confidence in the Komsomol. The CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Komsomol and Tasks of Communist Education of Youth" defined the Komsomol as a mass, independent and socio-political organization, a reserve of the party, and its closest assistant.

At the same time, the real practice of party and Komsomol interrelations was moving farther and farther away from Leninist traditions, and the difficulties and contradictions which accumulated were not resolved in a timely manner.

A certain "revival" of these issues arose once again in connection with the adoption of the 1984 CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Future Improvement of Party Leadership of the Komsomol and Increasing Its Role in Communist Education of Young People." However, it seems to me that the situation still has not fundamentally changed.

[Zinoviyev] Yes, as far as the characteristics of the Komsomol in CPSU documents of the 1950's-1980's (social organization, assistant and reserve of the party, purveyor of its directives, etc.) are concerned, the essence of the matter has not changed, for the roots of the problem have remained as previously, "cults." In the literature of Komsomol history of those years, although it also talked about the Komsomol's organizational independence, frequent scholastic arguments were conducted, a sort of authors' competition over the principles of party leadership of the Komsomol: Who will name or "invent" more of them. Only the 27th Party Congress restored the Komsomol's status as a socio-political organization, and the 19th Party Conference advocated the revival of Leninist traditions of party and Komsomol interrelations in full measure.

In my view, it is advisable to discuss the wording of the "Party and Komsomol" section of the CPSU Rules as a whole in order to make changes in the spirit of the 19th Party Conference decisions. But what forms and methods will be used for party leadership of the Komsomol?

[Strokanov] Before we stop on this, I would like to pose this question: Do we need an instructional document today as there was in the first years of the Komsomol's existence and which would contain within itself the whole range of problems of party and Komsomol interrelations?

[Zinovyev] There is no simple answer to that question. Inasmuch as we are trying to reduce the number of instructions and other types of papers to a minimum, and since any directive would not encompass all the diversity of life and, finally, of party and Komsomol interrelations, this is a type of creative work. But, anyway, let us ponder this question.

[Strokanov] I agree. Now, about how party leadership of Komsomol activities is seen.

1. Leadership through communists working in the Komsomol. And this Leninist tradition must become the basis in working with the youth organization.

2. Conducting joint gatherings and meetings of party and Komsomol committees. Party leaders' participation in the work of Komsomol meetings, conferences and congresses, as well as the presence of Komsomol leaders, not selected as part of party bodies, at the appropriate measures of party organizations.

3. Work with personnel. The main thing here is for party bodies to be concerned with the implementation of a democratic system of electing Komsomol leaders. The other side of this issue is the education of Komsomol personnel and activists who have been elected by democratic means.

4. Principled party criticism of errors made by Komsomol organizations.

5. Party leadership through example when carrying out some or other tasks facing society.

6. Undoubtedly, the Komsomol must be guided by the general policy course of the party and by its fundamental decisions. Komsomol organizations independently elaborate the ways and means of participating in their implementation.

In general terms, these are what I believe should and should not be in party and Komsomol interrelations at the current stage. History, it seems to me, attests to this, and the tasks of today demand it.

#### **Use of Child Labor for Turkmen Cotton Harvest Deplored**

*1830140 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Nov 88 p 2*

[Article by M. Volkov, correspondent of PRAVDA, Turkmen SSR: "Returning to the Subject: The Cotton Moloch Continues to Devour the Time, Strength and Health of Children"]

[Text] The flow of congratulatory telegrams and speeches has not yet dried up. The gladness of the speakers is boundless—during short periods the harvest of the chief crop of the fields of Turkmenistan has been brought in. An up to now unprecedented quantity of raw cotton—1.33 million tons—has been gathered.

I sincerely want to share the feelings of the cotton-growers. And I cannot. The sad news coming from various places lay on my heart like a stone. The price of the "white gold" has really proved to be very high. PRAVDA has more than once written about the fact that there is a lot of manual labor on the cotton plantations, including child labor. That the local party, soviet, and economic organs giving little thought to the mechanization of the cotton harvest. What has changed?

... The car started to slide at the very edge of the field, where a gully had developed after the sprinklings. The driver went for help, and I started to wander among the tall stalks of the cotton plant. I went in a little bit deeper and almost collided with a swarthy youngster 7-8 years old. The lad efficiently collected the white fluffy heads into a capacious bag fastened to a belt. At some distance his classmates also tried their utmost. Having caught sight of me, the children began to smile affably, were diverted from their monotonous work, surrounded the newcomer in a crowd, and gladly responded to questions. Yes, they are from the Zakmet Kolkhoz of Bakhardenskiy Rayon, they are studying in school, but what classes are there now? First of all, the cotton must be harvested.

Why are they here, during the last days of the academic quarter, moreover after the triumphant report of the rayon authorities? Can the men in charge sitting in their offices really not think of anything else than to charge children with this exhausting work?

Regardless of the explanations, the solution of the local authorities is hardly reasonable. Research conducted recently by scientists in the cotton-growing regions of the Ashkhabad zone demonstrated—many of the children employed in the harvest were shown to have anaemia and a lag in physical development. Frequently rachitis, dystrophy, and other illnesses.

Among the reasons are long-lasting and repeated contacts with pesticides, heavy manual labor in conditions of exhausting heat. The children frequently work the entire day during daylight, without days off. They are not provided with pure water and warm food. Meanwhile the defoliation of the cotton plant with chemicals is often carried out from airplanes in the vicinity. The wind carries them all over. In spite of the categorical prohibition, defoliation as before is frequently carried out from the air. Professor V. Fursov, a department chief of the Turkmen Agricultural Institute, is sounding the alarm in the republic press apropos of the fact that, because of the inexpert, carefree and irresponsible use of chemicals, cotton-growing has become a harmful occupation for the health of man. On a per capita basis, about 10 kilograms of chemicals a year are dropped, and every hectare receives three times more of them. Incidentally, the pests of the fields have adapted perfectly well to them and have acquired a quite good immunity.

Half a million tons of raw cotton in the republic went through the hands of children and their mothers. But not men; they consider this work to be shameful for them.

"Fundamental changes in the life of the rural school are not taking place," M. Aliyeva, the minister of education, complains. It is bitter to realize, but today for many the rural pupil is, first of all, a production unit, and only then a pupil and child. Not counting the vacations, during 4-5 months after his classes he is in the field. He ends up with the most labor-intensive operations—weeding, trimming, and harvesting.

The procurator of the republic, V. Vasilyuk, in a memorandum for the Turkmen CP Central Committee, asserts that the farm managers and the administrative organs at the local level, instead of involving the adult able-bodied population and increasing the efficiency of equipment, basically count on the manual labor of school children, ignoring the legislation that is in effect. In so doing, the part and soviet organs exert pressure on all those who try to protect the rights of children. Let us say, the Kirov Rayispolkom, with the knowledge of the party raykom, "did not notice" the protest of the rayon procurator in connection with the separation of the students from their studies in school.

The participation of children in field work is a subject that the local managers do not like to talk about. This is a delicate subject. They try not to parade this sad fact in public. The names of school children are not to be found in the list of harvest heroes. But they are easily found in the operational report of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which states accidents. The tragedies of the past year are still fresh in the mind. O. Annaovezov, the first secretary of the Kaakhkinskiy Party Raykom forced the officials of the State Automobile Inspection to give out the [license] number from a defective truck removed the day before and to return to the driver the rights of which he had been deprived the day before for violation of traffic violations. And all this for what? To transport seventh-graders to the white plantation. The vehicle overturned. Three children and a lady teacher died. PRAVDA wrote about this. They acknowledged the criticism as "just." But O. Annaovezov happily escaped responsibility: They took into account the short duration of work in the post of the "first." But can this be a mitigating circumstance? And the practice is continuing: Now the attendance in the schools of the rayon is at a "record" level—15 percent!

Impunity inspires. "In spite of the fact," writes V. Vasilyuk in the already mentioned memorandum, "that accidents occur every year, in some rayons they do not pay attention to the safety of the transport of pupils. In the Kommuna Kolkhoz a tractor cart overturned, the ninth-grader D. Gurbangeldyyev died. In Ilyalinskiy Rayon, N. Enembergenova, the mother of eight children, died in an automobile accident. The local law enforcement officials dropped the cases."

In the provinces they do not have real control over the health of children. In October, the teenager B. Annayev, who had not felt very well, tried to leave one of the plantations of Takhtinskiy Rayon. He did not make it to the hospital. The post-mortem confirmed the diagnosis established earlier—the lad suffered from an acute heart defect.

"Many pupils, by the end of their course of instruction, have a fifth-sixth-grade knowledge level," notes M. Aliyeva. "Where can they enter with that sort of preparation?"

Precisely for this reason, more than 60 percent of the graduates from rural schools do not even make an attempt to enter institutes, tekhnikums and colleges.

I cannot forget the discussions with the agriculture department chief of one of the party raykoms, Ya. Orazov. He realized in himself the whole degeneration of the educational practice that has taken shape. He enrolled in an institute only after his third attempt. After the most serious self-preparation, since he had reached purposefulness. During the school years there was not time, they "drove away" for cotton, they studied by fits and starts. In the institute things were not any better. With pain this man talked about lost opportunities.

I am writing these lines, and the sensation does not leave that I am doing a report from the stagnation years. Cotton-mania, as the carpet-maker A. Kurbanova, a member of the Turkmen CP Central Committee Buro, aptly called this phenomenon, is flourishing. Again, instead of the reduction promised from a high platform, there has been an increase of almost 20,000 hectares in the sowing of cotton plants. There has been a reduction in alfalfa, vegetables, and grapes. The production of potatoes in Turkmenistan amounts to next to nothing.

Of course, cotton is necessary to the republic and it is necessary to the country. You see, the climatic and regional peculiarities of economic activity have to be taken into consideration. But is it necessary to boost the sown areas for the sake of a far-fetched advantage and loud report? They do not abhor anything. Instead of improving agricultural technology and raising the yield and gross collections through this, they hold on to unconsidered crops. Not long ago they were again discovered in Tashauz Oblast. Two years ago, the first and second obkom secretaries and the oblispolkom chairman were removed from work and expelled from the party for concealing plantations from calculation. Now. . . they have moved the chairman of the oblast agroindustrial committee to an equivalent post.

But they are nevertheless fighting somehow against inflated reporting. No one, as it were, is responsible for the children, their future. Here the gap between word and deed is especially obvious. The leaders of the republic, including the first secretary of the Turkmen CP Central Committee, S. Niyazov, have repeatedly

declared in public that a stop has been put to the practice of involving school children and students, that violations will be punished, in order that others will not do it again. This is in words. But in actual fact many thousands of teenagers are once again being sent to the fields against their will.

People who are disturbed by the situation that has been created have far-reaching proposals. They are convinced that the areas and plans for raw cotton production must be brought to optimal and scientifically-grounded dimensions. The main thing here is, not in words, but in actual fact, to make wide use of mechanization, to make expert use of fertilizer and plant protection means. For this, of course, considerable efforts are necessary. It is much simpler to raise children for field work. Thus ecology, health and in the increase of the cultural level of the population are sacrificed to the ambitions of the local leaders.

"I see our sunny territory as one of the large vegetable centers of the country," M. Sarkisov, the director of the Turkmengiprovdokhoz [Turkmen State Planning, Surveying and Scientific Research Institute of Water Management Construction] reflects. If the land, water, and the beneficial climate are used in a reasonable manner, it is a sin not to fill up the local market and the union republics with the sweetest grapes, pomegranates, nuts, citrus fruit, wonderful melons and water melons. One can raise two crops a year, you see even during the winter it stays warm.

The scientists are convinced: Cotton, too, will not lose from this. The area will be a little less—the care will be better, and the harvest greater.

... The driver "turned" the truck from the route. They attached a rope, and a minute later our car dragged itself out of the deep gully. We seated ourselves and drove away. And the youngsters, having wished us bon voyage, remained to continue their work.

#### **Georgian Press Blames Prominent Dissidents for Recent Demonstrations**

18300144 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian  
11 Oct 88 p 4

[Article by Zaur Gvazava: "Meeting at the Hippodrome"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] A crime has been committed. An attacker has done violence to an 18 year-old girl. This happened several days ago near the village of Ordzhonikidze in Marneulskiy Rayon. The event was reported both on television and by the republic press. This news could only anger us, as we have all been angered by similar crimes committed in Duseti, Zugdidi, Tbilisi, and Podonki. The perpetrators of these crimes, no matter what their nationality, can give rise to nothing besides

justified rage, a feeling of disgust. And, of course, all of them have borne or will bear the punishment they deserve. The law will give them their due.

There is no doubt of this in the most recent case either. But some people have attempted to paint this crime in political colors, to excite nationalistic sentiments, to drive a wedge between the Georgians and Azerbaijanis who live in Marneulskiy Rayon. And all this based on the fact that the criminal is an Azerbaijani by nationality.

Direct provocation is involved. And this during a period when the relationships between nationalities in the neighboring republics have become so complicated. The cutting edge of this provocation is aimed at producing dissension between nationalities, at sowing hatred.

An approach which is familiar to the point of historical boredom has been seized upon as a weapon: to exploit natural indignation regarding the crime that has been committed for purposes of their own, to try to "tie" it—this indignation—into their own unscrupulous game. We are talking about Z. Gamsakhurdia, M. Kostava, I. Tsereteli, G. Chanturiya and others.

However, everything in its turn. After the crime was committed, events developed as follows. On 4 October, the residents of the village of Ordzhonikidze, outraged by what had happened, came to the rayon center to demand severe punishment of the attacker.

Having learned about what had occurred, Gamsakhurdia and company came tearing to Marneuli. They also appeared at the university where, in hypertrophied form, presenting their own conjectures, they gave an account of the situation in Marneulskiy Rayon. The purpose? To arouse the indignation of the students.

Meanwhile, in the village of Ordzhonikidze, the situation had become increasingly heated, which to a certain degree was facilitated by the untrue, mistaken statements of one of the leaders of the republic, who arrived in Ordzhonikidze on 5 October.

The next day, on 6 October, a village assembly was held in Ordzhonikidze. The first secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee, D. I. Patiashvili, took part in it. The discussion at the assembly was not a simple one; the villagers talked about many problems. About problems, incidentally, that confronted not only them, but many other villages as well in Marneulskiy Rayon, independently of who lives in them—Georgians, Azerbaijanis, Armenians, Russians or Greeks. These problems were both of an economic and of a social nature. And this discussion was made easier by the fact that many residents of Ordzhonikidze listened to the voice of reason. However, the best thing is to listen to certain of these who took part in the assembly.



"Someone or another has tried to foist off on us his interpretation that the Georgian population is being kept in the background within the rayon"—said a teacher of mathematics at the local middle school, Mziya Samkharadze, in a conversation with our correspondent. At the same time, they are trying to increase their own cheap authority. We did not expect anyone to be at the assembly besides the republic leadership. The first secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee came to us in order to analyze the situation which had been created. Together with us, to designate measures to improve the moral and psychological atmosphere within the rayon, to strengthen inter-nationalist education. Those who are trying to fan the flames of dissention between nationalities are not thinking about us, are not thinking that we live in the rayon shoulder to shoulder with representatives of various nationalities."

"I was happy to hear the correct words of the first secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee," said Georgian Polytechnical Institute [GPI] student Marekh Butsuradze. He answered all the questions which are bothering the residents of the rayon. I must also say that there is no way that the crime that was committed should be considered against the background of relationships between nationalities. It is not scoundrels who determine the face of a nation."

"I am also a student and I absolutely do not understand the position of some of my contemporaries who, without suspecting it themselves, are contributing by their actions to a worsening of relationships between nationalities, who do not notice that, behind the slogan of protecting the interests of a victim, they are overlooking interests of a completely different sort."

"Our grief is a common one," thinks the director of the Baylarsk middle school, Elmira Pashayeva, who also took part in the assembly. "No woman, no mother, could look upon what has happened without a shudder. The assailant should be punished to the full extent of the law. Along with this, we need to think about how to raise young people in the spirit of moral purity, international friendship and Soviet patriotism..."

But the story does not end here. Last Saturday, 8 October, the Gamsakhurdia-Kostava group organized a meeting. It took place at the Tbilisi hippodrome. And although, by a decision of the executive committee of Tbilisi City Soviet of Peoples Deputies, the hippodrome has been designated as a place for the holding of meetings, this meeting was illegal. Why? Because, in accordance with the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium ukase of 28 June 1988, it is first necessary to obtain permission, following standard procedures, to conduct a demonstration or a meeting. No permission was given to organize this meeting, more correctly, nobody asked or submitted the appropriate application for this.

Of course, there are meetings and, then, there are meetings. It sometimes happens that emotions get out of hand and a meeting is born spontaneously. True, the law is the law, but there are occasions when it is possible to understand people without justifying them. We need only recall the meeting which took place on 22 September of this year at the university building, which was provoked by concern about the fate of a unique historical and cultural monument.

But let us return to the meeting at the hippodrome. At it, one after the other, Z. Gamsakhurdia, M. Kostava, and others came forward with nationalistic slogans. In unison, I. Batiashvili and T. Koridze chimed in with them. Everything was familiar; the same worn-out record continued to be played, a performance designed to provoke unhealthy emotions. Their appeals, which were unusually irresponsible, gave not sense of being backed up by the slightest concern for the true well-being, for the destiny of their own people. Judge for yourselves. They presented a demand to close all Azerbaijani schools in Marneulskiy Rayon and to open only Georgian ones. What were they counting on here? Above all, evidently, on provoking dissatisfaction by the Azerbaijani population. With all the consequences which flow from this.

Cheap methods. But these people do not shrink from doing anything in order to push young people into unlawful actions. And how can we not recall here the tragedy of March 1956, when the blood of innocent people was spilled and when those, who had tried to give a nationalistic coloring to a demonstration of young people and resorted to provocations, remained on the sidelines.

Some of the inhabitants of the village of Ordzhonikidze also came to this meeting. Not to remember the triumph of Rakhip Mamedov, an Azerbaijani who, at the cost of his own life, saved the lives of dozens of Georgians. Not to speak about the concern which the citizens of Marneulskiy Rayon showed for the inhabitants of stricken Svaneti, when they let them have apartments in new buildings.

But, let's be honest: Not everything has been cloudless in the relations between nationalities; there are still many factors which retard their development. For example, it is difficult to go along with the fact that many Azerbaijani villages in the rayon have residents who do not speak the Georgian language at all, and also Russian. All this serves as a brake on the improvement of relationships between nationalities. We will be frank: When living on Georgian soil, it is necessary to show respect for its people and, for this, it is necessary to know their language, to study their history and traditions. This is natural. Just as naturally, we need when creating new textbooks on the republic's history, and these are already being prepared, to also write supplements to them for each multi-national region. (A decision about this, incidentally, was approved on 26 August 1988 at a joint



session of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet commission for inter-nationality relations and internationalist education of the population with its commission for education and culture. There will then be a possibility for more thorough study of the history of their native region, of the monuments which it contains, and, this means, for educating young people in the spirit of patriotism and internationalism.

It cannot be considered normal that the Georgian language is not being taught in the rayon's Azerbaijani schools, in any case in many of them. Several reasons are given to explain this, but the main one is that there are not enough teachers. Well, steps are already being taken in order to rectify this serious mistake. Not long ago, the collegium of the Georgian SSR Ministry of Education approved a decision on improving study of the Georgian language in non-Georgian schools. The ministry considered that its study should be obligatory in all schools within the territory of our republic. At the Tbilisi state pedagogical institute imeni A.S. Pushkin, a special group will be created, beginning in the next study year, in which teachers of the Georgian language will be trained to teach in non-Georgian schools.

Here are the kind of problems that must be solved by everyone together, in order to facilitate improvement of relations between nationalities, along with personnel problems, problems of the economic and social development of the region's villages, and many others.

There are no doubts that it is necessary to give a suitable and timely rebuff to the grief-patriots who "skillfully" select situations that are advantageous from their own point of view for the purpose of their attacks. Thus, they tried to come out of the woodwork not long ago, when the 4th Conference of Representatives of Soviet and American Public was taking place and they are doing so now, when the International Festival of Young People of the Press has been going on. Those whose brains have been dulled by them should also begin to think about this; indeed everything they are doing is for purposes of self-advertisement, so that certain newspapers and magazines in the West will sing them odes of praise. The actions of these "patriots" are aimed at undermining restructuring, the policy of the party, and are by no means for the good of the people.

It is not the first time that meetings have been held like the one which took place at the hippodrome, ones organized in violation of the law. One is struck by the long patience of our organs of authority and our legal organs. They have an obligation to apply the law. Indeed, democracy means strict fulfillment of the law and does not permit anarchy of any kind.

It also must be said that the actions of the group of "Gamsakhurdia & Co" have given rise to genuine indignation. At many enterprises in Tbilisi there have been meetings of workers who are disturbed by the situation that has recently developed within the city.

"The crime committed in Marneulskiy Rayon has angered me, like everyone else, to the depths of my soul," said Shoto Likhishvili, a metal-worker and assembler at the Tbilisi aviation production association imeni Dimitrov in his address to one meeting, "but no less disturbing is the stand taken by unscrupulous people to use what has happened for purposes of provocation. And again, the instigators included Zviad Gamsakhurdia, Merab Kostova, and other who set teeth on edge with their shameless statements and appeals. This time again, while crudely distorting the situation, they are trying to poison the consciousness of young people, to spark outbursts between nationalities."

Protests against actions which are igniting nationalistic moods were expressed at the meetings by many members of the collectives of the Tbilisimolstroy administration, the Tbilimoloko production association, the Tbilisi bread plant No. 6, and other enterprises in the republic's capital.

I would like to say something more about this here. The view has been frequently expressed that specifically the press, with its frequent critical articles, has helped to create an aura of martyrdom surrounding Z. Gamsakhurdia. They say that, had it not been for this, the young people themselves would have been able to distinguish the wheat from the chaff, to determine who is who. Possibly. But in the darkness, without the light of glasnost, it is indeed possible to get lost, to fall into skillfully set traps. Clearly, it is also necessary to keep this in mind when concerning ourselves about the future, about the destiny of our young people.

And with regard to our young people... We can only be pleased by the fact that they are actively making themselves felt in the solution of both ecological problems and problems of preserving monuments to the cultural and historical heritage of the Georgian people, as well as of other problems. In the era of restructuring, it is as if the young have taken wing, have shaken off their numbness. Mistakes may indeed occur. But only a person who does not do anything, who does not wish for anything, also does not make mistakes. And the traveller will manage the road. However, it can only be hoped that the young will not accept falsely patriotic slogans on faith, that they will learn to determine precisely where what is false, and what is real.

**Registration of Association, Club Statutes Now Mandatory**

18000267 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
21 Nov 88 p 3

[Interview with L.L.Bartkevich, Deputy Chairman, LaSSR Council of Ministers, with LATINFORM correspondent T.Bleskina: "Official Status for Public Associations of the Population"; first paragraph is a boldface introduction]

[Text] Today, progress in the economic and social spheres is inconceivable without spiritual progress and without further development and preservation of the cultural, linguistic and artistic traditions of all nationalities in our country. It is natural that people of any nationality, no matter where they live, want broader opportunities to satisfy their national cultural needs, especially in the areas of education, communication and folk art. These lofty objectives are met primarily by national cultural associations and clubs being formed in the republic on people's own initiative. Even though many of them have been quite active, until recently they had no official status. Now, the situation has changed. The LaSSR Council of Ministers has approved provisional procedures for registering statutes of newly created associations of the LaSSR population; those procedures are of interest to many people. L.L.Bartkevich, Deputy Chairman of the LaSSR Council of Ministers, explained the procedures to LATINFORM correspondent T.Bleskina.

[Bartkevich] The document clearly establishes the procedure for registering statutes of newly created republic-wide and local associations of LaSSR residents. Currently, we have several such associations. They include the Balto-Slavic Society for Cultural Development and Cooperation, the Latvian Society for Jewish Culture, the Ukrainian cultural association "Dnipro", the Daugavpils Cultural and Educational Society of Poles, the Lithuanian Cultural Society and several others. Taking into account the humane nature of their activity and their growing influence in the population, the LaSSR Council of Ministers recently organized a meeting of representatives of party and soviet entities, ministries, organizations and new public associations. They unanimously requested the government to promptly resolve the issue of bestowing a legal status on these public entities that would give them the right to exist and function. Such document has been drafted and approved.

[Bleskina] But the registration procedures have a modifier provisional. Why?

[Bartkevich] The problem is that the main principles of public associations' activities must be defined by federal legislation. We know that at the high level this question

is being considered by jurists, taking into account processes under way in the country. But the new bill has not yet been passed by federal entities. Yet, we can not wait. Since associations are being formed, we must allow them to function normally.

[Bleskina] What is the procedure for registering public associations?

[Bartkevich] Statutes of newly formed public associations, as well as possible changes and amendments, must be registered at an interagency commission established at the LaSSR Ministry of Justice. The commission is represented by the First Deputy Minister of Justice of the republic and includes representatives of the LaSSR State Committee on Culture, the Ministry of Education and the Latvian Trade Union Council. If need be, the interagency commission may invite specialists from other ministries and agencies, as well as ispolkoms, to determine the legitimacy of public association statutes submitted for registration.

[Bleskina] What is the time frame for registering a statute?

[Bartkevich] Statutes of public associations and changes and amendments will be considered and registered within one month of the date of submission.

[Bleskina] What can be considered the birthday of an association?

[Bartkevich] A republic-wide or local public association is considered formed from the moment its statute is registered, as the statute is a basic document regulating its activity.

[Bleskina] What can serve as reasons for the interagency commission to reject a statute?

[Bartkevich] There can be only one reason: if the statute or its amendments and changes are against the law. In this case, the association has the right to appeal the decision to the LaSSR Council of Ministers.

[Bleskina] Let us suppose that the statute is registered. What happens if the association's actions transgress the limits set by its statute?

[Bartkevich] If the activities of an association do not comply with existing laws, or with goals and objectives set by its registered statute, the above-mentioned interagency commission may decide to rescind its decision to register the statute. In this case, the republic-wide or local association ceases to exist.

[Bleskina] Thank you for the discussion.

## **Lithuanian SSR Constitution Changes Debated**

### **Supreme Soviet Secretary on Tasks of Constitution Working Group**

*18000189a Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
7 Oct 88 pp 1, 4*

[Interview with Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet secretary I. Guretskas by SOVETSKAYA LITVA correspondent Larisa Koritskaya: "On the Agenda: the Law of Our Life"; time and place not specified]

[Text]As is known, the resolution of the 19th All-Union Party Conference set the task of the democratization of Soviet society and reform of the political system. This consists of having all affairs in the country resolved by the people and their fully empowered representatives. Significant changes must be made to the USSR Constitution and the constitutions of the corresponding all-union and autonomous republics. Many proposals, wishes and comments on this score are arriving in the newspaper editorial offices and the legislative bodies. A working group has been set up under the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to generalize proposals on improvements to the constitutional legislation and enhance the role of the soviets. In their letter SOVETSKAYA LITVA readers are interested in the activity of the working constitutional body and are asking for information about the changes proposed to the republic constitution. A SOVETSKAYA LITVA correspondent talks about this with I. Guretskas, secretary of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

[Koritskaya] The working group no doubt faces a colossal volume of work. Could you concretize the directions in which it is working. And in whose hands, as they say, is the Fundamental Law of our lives?

[Guretskas] The working group has so-called subgroups. One of them is tasked to review and discuss proposals to improve the republic constitution. It is led by the Lithuanian SSR minister of justice P. Kuris, and it includes academicians, scholars, specialists, jurists and representatives of the "Sajudis" Movement for Perestroyka. In general the quorum is representative and is able to work. For our main task is to reflect in the new acts the views and aspirations of citizens of the Lithuanian SSR.

[Koritskaya] Are there yet any indications? Has the group drawn up at least a rough draft?

[Guretskas] Yes, we must note the great technical work done by the working group of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences. This group has also submitted generalized proposals that we shall still discuss extensively before consideration in the Supreme Soviet. I would like to note that there are so many proposals and comments that we can only be pleased with the awakened civic activeness of the inhabitants of the republic.

[Koritskaya] Please tell us about at least some of the proposals that will be submitted for discussion.

[Guretskas] Life has shown that today one important question is the question of the Lithuanian language in the republic. It has been proposed that it be made the official language. And a decision on this question will be discussed at the next session of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

[Koritskaya] As you have probably noticed, there is active discussion of this in the republic press. Some people of non-indigenous nationality who do not have a good mastery of the Lithuanian language have misgivings that if Lithuanian is made the official language no one will deal with them in Russian and other languages.

[Guretskas] These misgivings are unfounded. The proposed article in the draft states approximately the following: the official language will be Lithuanian. The Lithuanian SSR guarantees the use of Lithuanian in all state and public organizations, legal bodies, culture, science and other institutions, and at enterprises and organizations. The state will provide for the development of Lithuanian and the creation of conditions for the development and use of the languages of other peoples in the Lithuanian SSR and will teach and use Russian as the language in interethnic dealings. This, I repeat, is still only the proposed version of the article. It will obviously be improved.

[Koritskaya] It is planned to debate this issue at the next session. But what about other changes; why are they not being pushed through?

[Guretskas] Well now. Some I would say hotheads are in great haste and are demanding a new constitution for the Lithuanian SSR as quickly as possible. It should not be forgotten that Lithuania is part of the USSR. It is a single state. And the USSR Constitution, which is also undergoing changes, will also be in force in our republic. Obviously, in our constitution we must give due consideration to those changes. We shall shape ours in line with them. True, the following kinds of voices are being heard: why should we consider the all-union constitution? We, they say, are by ourselves. No. The Lithuanian SSR is part of the USSR and we shall live in the common family of the peoples of the USSR. Incidentally, proposals on improvements to the USSR Constitution have already been collected and prepared and they will be examined by the working group and submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

[Koritskaya] Another issue is being discussed in the press: that of citizenship in the Lithuanian SSR. What can you say about this?

[Guretskas] There is a proposal to write into the constitution an article on citizenship of the Lithuanian SSR. But it has still not been properly developed.

**[Koritskaya]** We are receiving letters in the editorial offices and readers are expressing the following kind of doubt: suppose a citizen of the Lithuanian SSR went to live in another republic. How would he then be regarded?

**[Guretskas]** Each citizen of the Lithuanian SSR is also a citizen of the USSR. To the point, some people of non-indigenous nationality are also sending letters to us, asking whether they will be granted citizenship. Yes, all people living on the territory of the republic are its citizens. I think that this will also be the case in the future.

**[Koritskaya]** The question of economic independence for the republic is also worrying people. What are the changes proposed in this direction?

**[Guretskas]** The question of economic independence and extension of sovereignty is today being discussed with special sharpness and interest. I think that this will be reflected in the constitution. At the same time, some issues, as, for example, defense and mutual relations with other states, could remain within all-union competence. Even though sovereignty permits the republics to develop links with other countries.

**[Koritskaya]** The 19th Party Conference set the soviets the task of exercising their full power. What changes are envisaged in this direction?

**[Guretskas]** I, by chance, lead the working group to study the proposals on the work of the soviets. It must be said that up to now little activity has been shown by the deputies, and the soviets are in no hurry to make their own comments. We are working with deputies and listening to their opinions. As an experiment it has been decided to combine some of the settlement and district [apilinka] soviets, and rayon and city soviets. Time will tell what these associations will bring. Only 2 months have passed so far. At least we believe that it will be more convenient for the citizen to deal with a single soviet and a single authority.

**[Koritskaya]** Today the existing constitution guarantees the power of the soviets. What new guarantees are needed?

**[Guretskas]** Real guarantees. Up to now only a number of documents adopted on this subject proclaim the full power of the soviets. But in practice the soviets depend entirely on the Gosplan, the Ministry of Finance, and the ministries and so forth. Unfortunately, the debates on this subject with the republic departments are still continuing. They are reluctant to abandon the old command methods. It will be necessary to fight oh so stubbornly and doggedly to solve this question. In general there must be a radical reorganization of the soviets, and this task was defined by the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

**[Koritskaya]** When will the draft of the new constitution be submitted for national debate?

**[Guretskas]** It is too early to talk about timetables. Too many versions of particular articles are emerging during the course of the work. But what is needed is that it then be worked on in terms of the citizen so that no disagreements remain. Additional words and phrases will literally be added to some existing articles. Take, for example, article 13. It has become somewhat outdated in connection with the development of cooperative ownership. Thus, in the sentence "objects of everyday use may constitute personal ownership" it is necessary to add the words "and means necessary for individual labor activity." And there are many similar additions and clarifications. I think that the draft being prepared will be published for broad debate.

In general we must all work on our own Fundamental Law since our life will depend on its correctness and viability.

Incidentally, a meeting of the working group took place yesterday. It was very interesting and lively. We were able to discuss only five articles of the constitution. The work will be continued.

**LiSSR Supreme Soviet Examines Proposals**  
*18000189a Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian*  
*18 Oct 88 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "In the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] A meeting of the section on improvements to the constitution, formed by the working group under the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, recently took place. It examined proposals from the republic Academy of Sciences on the text of the new Constitution of Soviet Lithuania.

Questions concerning further editorial improvements to the preamble of the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR were discussed in a constructive and businesslike manner and an analysis was made of the sections of the constitution regulating the foundations of the political and economic systems and social development and culture, and an assessment was made of them.

The question of the preamble to the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR provoked lively discussion among section members. In was the general opinion that the process of establishing the national-historical statehood of Soviet Lithuania and its main stages should be reflected more broadly. A group was formed from among the section members to do editorial work on the preamble.

Proposals on elements making up the sociopolitical system—the state, the party, the trade unions and other public organizations, and the labor collectives—were comprehensively evaluated. In the opinion of the section members the most important questions of the republic's state and public life should not only be submitted to

national debate but also be resolved by referendum. Procedure for conducting the referendum should be established by a special law. The viewpoint was expressed that the referendum could be announced by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium at its own initiative or at the request of the deputies, and also citizens exercising their electoral right. It was decided to postpone any decision on the question of the number of deputies or electors empowered to demand the holding of a referendum pending further analysis.

It is proposed that in the articles of the constitution dealing with the political system the principle of accountability of all officials to the people should be reinforced. The general opinion was expressed that all state bodies and public organizations in the republic, in addition to other principles, should also operate on the basis of socialist justice.

It was the opinion of some section members that in order to make the structure of the sociopolitical system more open, reference should be made to citizen movements, the creative unions and the scientific societies.

Giving due consideration to the growing role of the labor collectives, it was proposed that the constitution should emphasize that the labor collective is the fully empowered master of the enterprise (or farm or organization) and independently resolves all questions concerning production and social development at the enterprise, the formation and use of its funds, strengthening the material-technical base and marketing output. It is essential to reinforce the provision that the labor collective participates in state management.

Various viewpoints were expressed at the meeting regarding the economic system, which is reinforced in the constitution. It was concluded that with the final work on the provisions of the Fundamental Law on the economic system, it is necessary to reflect in a more concrete way the concept of the regional cost accounting that is now being formulated in the republic. Valuable thoughts were also expressed on the general program of the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka on the economic plane.

It was the general opinion that taking into account the new forms of management and the development of cooperative and individual labor activity it is essential to provide a more clear-cut description of all forms of ownership, including mixed ownership, which will inevitably arise during the process of economic activity. The desire was expressed to provide a broader assessment of intellectual labor and its prestige. Opinion was unanimous that compensation for labor should be based on the principle of socialism "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor."

The section members were of the opinion that when talking about efficient land use and increasing fertility it is necessary to emphasize the impermissibility of causing harm to nature during the process of accomplishing such measures.

An in-depth analysis was made of the section of the constitution dealing with social development and culture. Various viewpoints were expressed on the question of what constitutes the social basis of the Lithuanian SSR.

It was deemed advisable to reinforce the provision that a national system of people's education operates in the Lithuanian SSR, meeting the historical and cultural traditions of the region, and also the aims of developing the national economy. It was proposed that the constitution be supplemented with a legal standard that opportunities are created for citizens living in the republic to rear their own children in their native tongue and develop their own national culture, and for citizens of non-Lithuanian nationality, conditions to study the Lithuanian language and familiarize themselves with the culture and history of the Lithuanian people.

The meeting of the section on improvements in the constitution analyzed and discussed other matters connected with work on the text of the Fundamental Law of Soviet Lithuania. The section continues its work. Information on this will be published in the republic press.

The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium hopes that the population of the republic and the labor collectives will offer proposals on the constitution of the Lithuanian SSR. All wishes expressed will be weighed and examined in the final work on the changes and additions to the Fundamental Law of the republic.

**LiSSR Academy of Sciences Discusses Proposals**  
*18000189a Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian*  
*30 Oct 88 p 3*

[Interview with Yu. Pozhela, president of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences, and E. Vilkas, chief scientific secretary of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences by R. Grumadayte and R. Chesna: "For the Future of Lithuania, for Progress"; time and place not specified]

[Text] As has already been reported, a session of the general meeting has taken place in the republic Academy of Sciences at which the tasks of scientific workers in implementing the ideas of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, and also tasks and directions in improving the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR, were discussed. ELTA correspondents talked with leaders of the Academy of Sciences and asked them to comment on the results of this session.



**[Academician Yu. Pozhela, President of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences]:** The priorities of independence branches of science have recently changed significantly. The social sciences are moving to the forefront. One of the most important questions for the academy is to help in forming the concept of humane, democracy socialism covering all fields of life. I think that the institutes will find constructive solutions to the separation of the social sciences under their control and to including them in this work, even though today the social sciences are not the livelihood of only particular specialists.

Success in perestroika in the republic depends largely on how the scientific academies will help in solving the problems of its economic independence and national problems. Unfortunately, there is still much in scientific work that is declarative and there is lack of search for alternatives. I think that the truth must be sought in debate. Life shows that we are not well prepared for this. We are working in the old way: we are moving from old demagoguery to new demagoguery. The scope of scientific work is being narrowed only to national problems. However, a scientist who is not an internationalist will be unable to find successful solutions to our people's problems. The social sciences must give us a national direction. It is essential to expand research on the history of the Lithuanian people and their language, ethnography, sociology, philosophy, national relations and other research in the humanities. In the near future we shall set up a new institute of the history of culture and the natural sciences. For it is essential to analyze in greater depth the cultural legacy of the people scattered among the individual works of scholars. This applies in particular to studies in the arts. We shall restore justice by also opening a institute of the Lithuanian language. The two institutes that were functioning after the war—the Institute of the Lithuanian Language and the Institute of Lithuanian Literature—were combined into a single institute in 1952. It is very difficult for a single collective of scholars to cover such a broad range of subjects.

It is the civic duty of academy workers to help in perfecting the concept of the republic's economic independence and its legal and economic management, and also research on the ecology, the realization of social guarantees and so forth. We are therefore proposing that an institute of geography and ecology be opened, and it is also necessary to pursue the question of founding a special scientific subdivision that would draw up the scientific foundations for ecological monitoring. We protest the pollution but we have a very weak technical arsenal for diagnostic purposes. It is essential to re-examine and substantiate the question that has been raised about returning agricultural science to the academy.

Although we have set up councils to solve individual scientific problems, as before coordination and the organization of the basic sciences take place on a pro forma basis. For our councils have no rights whatsoever. It is

essential that the republic council of ministers and the republic government allocate funding for these councils for scientific subjects according to a priority. And not only at the academy level.

One step in the direction of independence is the elections of directors of academy institutes planned for the near future.

From 1 January the scientific organizations will be switching to cost accounting. During the process of the debate on the new labor conditions negative trends were discerned. It is said that Lithuania has no need of lasers, needs no research on superconductivity or genetics. In my opinion, we must become a people with a high standard of science. And this comes with development of the basic sciences. Without being confined to research in the interests only of the republic we should actively also participate in all-union programs and international projects in which problems of world science are resolved. Having decided to set up joint-venture firms with foreign countries it is essential to cooperate more with their scientific communities.

**Academician E. Vilkas, chief scientific secretary of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences Presidium and chairman of the commission to draw up proposals on changes in the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR:** In response to a proposal from workers in the academy the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences Presidium set up a special commission in May, made up of 17 people, that was assigned to task of preparing proposals to improve the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR. Thus emerged the proposals of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences to the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the thrust of changes in the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR.

It should be said that the need to improve the Constitution was dictated by life itself and the perestroika that is taking place in the country and the republic. During the course of perestroika laws have appeared that are at variance with the Lithuanian SSR Constitution now in force. The 19th All-Union Party Conference not only sealed new principles in the economy but also underscored the need for change and for strict determination of the limits of competence for the union republics and asseveration of the Leninist principles of federalism. In general, the new model of socialism and the new concept of socialism must be reflected in the Construction of the USSR and the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR.

Work on the concept of economic independence has revealed that up to now we still have only the concept itself and the economic principles, but that there are things, particularly in the field of social guarantees, ecological policy and demographic policy, that should also be reflected in the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR. But we have little idea of what this policy should be. It is clear that it should be different, but how? Obviously, there is no intention of writing into the



Constitution, for example, that medical care is free. For we all know that free medical care or any other free item is automatically of poor quality.

Taking into account the things that were said during the discussion of the proposal (and they were very specific and very profound and very simple, and also editorial in nature) the commission will evidently again rewrite the proposals on the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR and present them to the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium commission.

And now the subject of new questions arising during the course of discussion. First and foremost the preamble should reflect the history of the Lithuanian state from the most ancient times. And this should be done precisely in the part of the preamble dealing with most recent times, and there should be a provision on the Lithuanian Communist Party.

The Lithuanian SSR Constitution should also contain provisions that were previously found nowhere; constitutional reinforcement that public opinion be studied before the adoption of any law.

It is also necessary to change the article on local soviets. It is advisable to have an executive committee and a presidium for the local soviets, and thus a chairman of the executive committee and a chairman of the presidium of the local soviet, which post would be occupied by the secretary of the corresponding party committee. Then the executive committee will not convene sessions or coordinate the work of the standing commissions; this will be done by the presidium of the soviet of people's deputies.

The only point on which those attending the session of the general meeting agreed was that it is necessary to return to the emblem, flag and national anthem usual for all Lithuanians.

The proposals covered many articles of the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR. Particularly on the most important articles dealing with the sovereignty of the people, in other words, the sovereign power of the Soviet authorities and the sovereignty of the state. This is quite understandable: we must restore the Leninist understanding of federalism in the state and correspondingly guarantee the rights of the republic in the USSR.

#### **Georgian 'Pseudo-Patriots' Scored for Role in Demonstrations, Fined**

##### **Dissidents Abuse Glasnost**

18300163a Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian  
12 Oct 88 p 4

[GRUZINFORM dispatch: "Violators of Order—To Account"]

[Text]The time of glasnost and democratization introduces its own amendments to the life of our society. The mechanism of government by the people is being perfected, work is being carried out on designated political and legal reforms. Signs of renewal are clearly manifested in all spheres of our everyday life.

However, there are people who are openly profiteering on the expansion of rights, who are striving to earn political capital: Magnifying problems and distorting their meaning, they are intentionally exacerbating complex situations, are behaving with impertinence, and are not submitting to the law.

So it was last Saturday and Sunday, when a group of persons well-known to all arranged an unsanctioned meeting at the Tbilisi hippodrome. And indeed, they all were well aware of the established procedures for conducting meetings, marches and demonstrations.

And they had been repeatedly warned not to carry out unauthorized acts. But, evidently, they understand a demonstration to be something which is permitted to everyone, and glasnost—to mean a disregard of the obligations of citizens of our country.

It was necessary to call these violators of order to account. The peoples court in the Saburtalinskiy rayon of the city of Tbilisi, examined the case concerning those individuals who violated existing procedures for organizing and conducting gatherings, meeting, street marches and demonstrations in accordance with article 174, Part 2 of the Georgian SSR Legal Code regarding administrative violations of the law and set the degree of their punishment as a monetary fine. Fines of various amounts were levied on Z.K. Gamsakhurdia, M.I. Kostava, M.K., Darchashvili, T.A. Koridze, Ya. I. Plavenishvili, I.S., Tsereteli, I., D. Batiashvili, and G.M. Petriashvili.

The remaining organizers of the unsanctioned meeting will also be taken to court.

Currently, at meetings within their labor collectives, the workers of the republic's capital are discussing the actions of those who violate social order, who present themselves as the "true patriots" of their own nation, as "fighters" for justice, who try to poison the consciousness of our young people, and who hinder people from living and working normally and calmly. Society demands unswerving execution of existing legal norms with respect to those who do not want to respect the law.

#### **Lawbreakers Lambasted, Fined**

18300163b Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian  
13 Oct 88 p 4

[GRUZINFORM dispatch: "Do Not Go Along With Instigators"]

[Text] Meetings are continuing in the labor collectives of the city of Tbilisi, at which their participants are discussing attempts by certain persons to exploit an incident that took place in Marneulskiy Rayon for purposes of provocation. At assembly shop No 5 of the Gruzelektromash production association, the meeting was opened by the secretary of the party buro, Mirian Sulava.

Assembly worker Dodo Taliashvili takes the floor:

"For many centuries the Georgian people have lived in friendship with the Russian, Azerbaijani, Armenian, and other peoples. Their joy has been our joy, their grief—our grief. We have always shared together our troubles, on equal terms, and together we have celebrated our victories. But, as they say, every family has its black sheep. And the incident which took place in Marneuli—a dirty, disturbing incident—cannot be made a reason for inflaming dissension between nationalities. We believe that the criminal should be severely punished. But we are also certain that grief-patriots such as Gamsakhurdia, Kostava and the others with them should be punished as well. Indeed, they are playing into the hands of our common enemy."

The thoughts of D. Taliashvili were supported by technical control department inspector Tsiuri Barabadze and winder Anzhela Akhazaarova.

It was not an accident that the printing shop of the Tbilisi silk production association was selected as the locale for a meeting. The collective of this production unit is the most varied at the enterprise in terms of nationality. Representatives of nine nationalities work side-by-side here: Georgian, Russian, Armenian, Azerbaijani, Greek... As they say, they share joys and cares equally. This is why every honest worker is genuinely troubled by the events of recent days: by the incident which took place in Marneuli and by the subsequent attempt of certain pseudo-patriots to ascribe a clearly provocational character to this fact, to direct people's indignation into another channel. The secretary of the association's party committee, Elgudza Mamasakhlisi, opening the meeting, also spoke about this.

Leading weaver Eteri Napanadze, a deputy to the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet, takes the floor:

"What happened in Marneuli is disgraceful. And let no one doubt that the offender will get the punishment he deserves," she said. "But something else is also a disgrace: They are trying to use what occurred to incite outbursts between nationalities. The 'heroes' from the company of Gamsakhurdia are spreading disinformation among the people, are intentionally distorting the situation. We cannot condone this."

Addressing the meeting, weaver and chairman of the association's women's council Nana Berulava, Dyer Roman Undilashvili, secretary of the Komsomol committee Marina Robakidze, deputy chief engineer Gela Gardakhadze, and others spoke of the internationalist traditions of the Georgian people and called upon them to strengthen their own unity, not to submit to instigators.

### Violators of Law and Order Punished

The participants in the recent unsanctioned meeting on Rustaveli Prospect could not have not known about the rules for holding it. And nevertheless, without the authorization of city authorities, it was held in a government building. No formal demands, no precise program of action was presented by its participants. Only to attract the attention of passers-by, to violate public order—this is the form their performance took.

The law violators were brought before the peoples court of the Talinskiy rayon in Tbilisi. They were K.D. Bardavididze, I.T. Sarishvili, D.O. Kiknadze, and S.N. Tseteli. In accordance with article 174, Part 1 [sic] of the Georgian SSR Legal Codek regarding administrative violations of the law, they were sentenced to monetary fines.

### Lagging Azerbaijani Development Linked to Shadow Economy, 'Mafia' Clans

18200063a Baku MOLODEZH AZERBAYDZHANA  
in Russian 22 Sep 88 p 2

[Interview with Professor Korkhmaz Dzhangirovich Imanov, director of the AzSSR Gosplan Institute of Economics; interview conducted by Nikolay Davydov: "Stagnation, or The Long Shadow of the Shadow Economy"]

[Text] [Question] There is probably not a single person in our republic who has not in one way or another come in contact with the shadow economy, who has not been personally affected by it or has not to a greater or lesser extent taken part in it, even against his or her will, even in the role of its "victim." Yet at the same time we not only did not recognize it as a serious problem, we did not even suspect its existence until we heard it spoken of at a high-level party forum. Was it really necessary to experience the tragedy of Sumgait, to come face to face with the explosive situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and surrounding it, for us to hear that in our republic there are "corrupt clans and dealers in a shadow economy..."? So what is this thing, so long plainly seen yet unseen, that has now come to be called openly the "shadow" economy?

[Answer] Let me respond that it was not plainly seen! Everyone has a definite perception of this phenomenon, yet no one—not in the country at large nor here in our republic—has regarded the shadow economy as a scientific problem, a subject worthy of specialists' attention. It was like oxygen: we breathed it without thinking about it until it was discovered to be a chemical element in the 18th century... In his speech to the 19th All-Union Party Conference A. Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of our republic party Central Committee, emphasized that "over the past 15 years Azerbaijan's absolute lag behind union-wide living standards has not only not decreased, it has actually increased by a factor of two." You can see how "far" Azerbaijan advanced while it was ruled by the

shadow economy. To the sound of drums, bristling with undeserved medals, casting upon the people the long and shameful shadow of the black market, deception and speculation, bribery, corruption and protectionism—inseparable parts and components of the shadow economy. Azerbaijan advanced, becoming with each step more deeply mired in the swamp of stagnation for which the new economic term is “stagnatsiya”.

Perestroyka is saying: STOP!! It is calling for new thinking, for expression of ethnic self-awareness through honest, creative labor which—and it alone!—enriches a nation, because anything else leads inevitably to its impoverishment—physically, spiritually and intellectually.

But restructuring is difficult, extremely difficult. And we continue to see imported clothing and shoes, radios, building materials, plumbing fixtures, scarce medicines, food products and many, many more things being sold under the counter at exorbitant prices. All you need is money, and you can get anything you want... But what is a normal, honest citizen of our republic to do, when his average monthly salary, according to the State Statistical Committee, is 164 rubles (whereas the nationwide average is over 200 rubles)? It is no secret to anyone that almost this entire sum goes for food, with little if anything left over for savings (for instance, just think how much one trip to the bazaar costs!). And people still have to buy clothes, go to theaters and concerts, go visiting or receive guests, go on vacation...

[Question] Yet nevertheless automobiles, VCRs and stereo systems are being bought, dachas are being built, gold and expensive jewels are hot items in jewelry stores, people take trips around the world, restaurants are full and people are not wearing rags. So it seems that people do have money.

[Answer] The only people who have money with a capital “M” are the ones who have renounced their human principles and live by the motto: if you want to survive you have to know the angles. “Working the angles” within the limits of the law is laborious and yields little profit, yet in the shadow economy the range of possibilities is limited only by the imagination and appetites of those who participate in it. These are the people that Vezirov calls the corrupt clans and the dealers of the shadow economy; as a group they comprise the anti-restructuring forces. They still have their hands on the control levers. Azerbaijan will continue on its former course, the scoundrels will grow richer, and honest people who by their nature do not want to stoop to crooked dodges will remain passive participants, actually victims, of the shadow economy, forced to “contribute” a portion of their hard-earned income to it. But these people are immeasurably more numerous, and they favor restructuring. They want it, yet they are afraid to place their full confidence in it, because the burden of the shadow economy on the people is already too great; they cannot free themselves from it without decisive intervention by the state.

[Question] What do you mean by decisive intervention? Are we seeing it now?

[Answer] Unfortunately we have not seen it yet. It means a battle against the shadow economy on every front, a coordinated blow against the corrupt clans, and a struggle against the mafia. Whereas the task of restructuring is to improve and simplify our economy, to make it socialist once again in line with the Leninist concept, an economy that would clear the way to a good life supported by honest labor, the task of the anti-restructuring forces is to hang on to and reinforce the positions they now hold. They will not give up those positions without a fight, just as they will not willingly return their ill-gotten wealth to the state's coffers. And the positions held by the shadow economy are exceptionally strong. For example, foreign scientists estimate the value produced by our republic's shadow economy at 40 percent of our national income. In other words, almost one half of Azerbaijan's state treasury is in the hands of anti-perestroyka forces. So they definitely have something to defend. And since the shadow economy has large amounts of capital at its disposal and holds a “controlling interest,” it remains a mortally dangerous alternative to restructuring in our republic, dragging us into stagnation, attempting to dictate its own terms with no compromises. Either the shadow economy or perestroyka! Marx once wrote about this very same situation: “Capital avoids commotion and conflict; it is notable for its timid nature. This is true, but not the whole truth. Capital fears a void. But once it possesses sufficient profits capital becomes bold. At 10 percent profit capital is agreeable to anything. When it gets 20 percent it starts coming to life, at 50 percent it is positively frantic, at 100 percent it flaunts all human laws and with a 300-percent profit there is no crime that it would hesitate to undertake” (K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, Vol. 23, p 770).

And under the laws of the shadow economy every ruble spent is supposed to yield three rubles profit—300 percent!

[Question] Everyone understands this intuitively, hence their skepticism. They say, well, the newspapers write beautifully and everything turns out fine on paper, but what has changed in Azerbaijan in the past three years except for prices, which have gone up? Our readers— young people full of energy—want to define the degree of their participation in restructuring, find out where to apply their efforts. Above all it is essential that they be able to recognize the true face of the enemy. Let us attempt to examine the anatomy of the shadow economy.

[Answer] As I have already said, in Azerbaijan no one has studied this problem, therefore I have nothing to go on except my own rough estimates. As if to reproach us, in the West a great deal of work has been done on this subject. Calling the shadow economy the “second” economy, Western economists, Sovietologists and other specialists on our sore points have studied it long and in great detail (naturally for the purpose of later taunting us

about it). I met one of these specialists eight years ago in America. This was Vladimir Trembl, a university professor in North Carolina, a serious scientist and a specialist on "both" of our economies. It was from him that I first heard of the second (shadow) economy. Afterwards I thought about it a great deal and discussed the matter with my colleagues, but at that time no one would have allowed me to study the subject seriously. During the stagnation period this was a closed subject for any Soviet scientist. Therefore it would be best to begin our analysis with a brief overview of what has already been done in the West.

Consider, for example, a book by Dr. Nicholas Lampert published in London three years ago; Dr. Lampert is a scientist at the Birmingham University Centre for Russian and East European Studies. In his book he gives a diagram of our country's second economy, including in it: a) all forms of illegal production of goods (from the making of illegal alcohol to private production of large quantities of consumer goods under the guise of a state enterprise); b) buying and reselling of goods for the purpose of making a profit; c) illegal organization and supply of private services (for example, by home construction and repair offices, transportation organizations, educational services, medical services and automobile repair organizations); d) all forms of "surcharges" in money or in kind for goods or services provided by employees of state or public organizations and enterprises. The latter includes "tips" to sales personnel for the sale of scarce goods and all forms of bribes given to individuals in charge of the distribution and storage of consumer goods and production stockpiles; in addition, this concept can be extended to include bribery in exchange for a favorable, i.e. tolerant, attitude toward dubious accounting documentation.

This diagram is fundamentally correct, but it is only a diagram. In order to catch a glimpse of the mechanism and understand its inner workings we must have a detailed analysis. As I perceive it the shadow economy in Azerbaijan can be broken down into three components: production "on the left," the black market and the "service" sector.

I believe there is no need to explain the first component, as the reader is already aware of underground shops operating, as we have read in the press, using raw materials stolen from the state and selling their "underground" products in state-run stores. We are still seeing cases of substitution in stores, with low-quality goods being sold as higher-quality ones, hence at a higher price. Or sizes may not be correct; you may buy a jumper in size 50, but find out that it is actually a size 44, a cheaper size. There are still extra areas of cropland, with 100 percent of the receipts from the crop winding up in the pockets of these "businessmen," and endless hectares of orchards only formally registered to the state which in fact belong to private individuals. The staff of the Committee To Combat the Embezzlement of Socialist

Property or the procuracy could cite numerous examples of this type, yet they do not, because to do so would mean immediate loss of their slice of the pie.

It is more difficult to analyze the black market, merely because of its dynamic nature and regional specificity. For example, no one in Leningrad would dream of paying five rubles for a pack of Marlboros, whereas the haggling starts with that figure in Baku. On the other hand, in Leningrad a bottle of vodka may cost twice as much as it does in the middle of the night at the "Kubinka" here. But that is today; what about tomorrow?! The black market varies within our own republic; Kirovabad and Agdam, Lenkoran and Kuba, Ismailly and Prishib are simply incomparable to one another in terms of the amount of money in the public's hands. In the mountainous regions of Azerbaijan, where supply is worse and the people poorer, the products available on the black market and the prices demanded are correspondingly different. The following items are typical of the current black market in Baku:

- clothing (children's, women's, men's)
- footwear (children's, women's, men's)
- VCRs and high-quality stereo systems
- automobiles and automotive parts
- building materials and plumbing supplies
- medicines
- meat and butter
- alcoholic beverages (including imported wine)
- cigarettes (primarily American).

I must include the caveat that this is merely the backbone of the black market, its most stable offerings. The full range of goods available depends upon seasonal and other changes and is strongly related to the artificially created shortages that drive up prices.

Obviously the black market would not continue to exist for a year if we tackled it at the state level. But since at some point in the depths of the period of stagnation law enforcement organs became intertwined with the criminal world, and since the corrupt clans (i.e. the mafia) are alive and well, this market remains a serious sector of the shadow economy and exerts a considerable influence on the standard of living in our republic, tending to lower it. That is why today a ruble in Baku and a ruble in Moscow are different things, with a ratio of three to one between them: a person can work honestly and make the same salary as someone in Moscow yet have a standard of living three times lower than the Muscovite's.

I do not know whether I have succeeded in portraying the seriousness of the problem in my description of production "on the left" and the black market. I am afraid that the readers are already well aware of all this.

[Question] The most important part of understanding the overall picture is to give a systematic analysis of the shadow economy, which is like an octopus with its tentacles twined around the national economy of Azerbaijan. Before the arrival of glasnost we could see only fragments of this picture, and those best informed only discussed them in a whisper, with never a chance to fearlessly bring them together into a whole.... But you also mentioned the "service" sector. Why do you put the word "service" in quotation marks?

[Answer] We have not yet found a synonym to fit the concept, and somehow it goes against the grain to call the trade in official positions or "Intourist girls" "services." The problem is that the shadow economy, in a parasitic relationship to virtually all parts of the state system, has extended the range of its "services" to such antipodes of socialist morality as drug dealing, prostitution and gambling. This range of "services" also includes the use of slander, intimidation and even (recall the article "Lev Jumped" which appeared in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA) physical elimination against persons who resist or make trouble. If a person seriously crosses the mafia the consequences are anonymous phone threats, unpleasantness on the job, surveillance and nighttime encounters with armed "hooligans." And going to the militia is useless, because they simply will not believe you or will say that you are imagining things. In any event, they cannot effectively protect you from this kind of "services" which, incidentally, are well paid for by the mafia. But these are, so to speak, "miscellaneous services." The main menu is as follows:

- health care: "non-state" treatment and medical services
- the educational system: "preparation" of medal recipients in schools, admissions exams and final exams for a price at VUZs and tekhnikums
- trade: the supplying of scarce goods to the black market
- the system of supply and sales: the supplying of scarce goods to the retail trade network
- transportation: "surcharges" for taxi rides and transport of furniture, building materials, etc., under-the-counter sales of railroad and airline tickets
- household services: excessive charges for official services
- cadres: bribes to obtain promotions

—administrative organs: monthly "fees" levied on the operators of production "on the left" (now these are cooperatives), the leaders and functionaries of the black market and providers of "miscellaneous services."

As you can see, the aforementioned components of the shadow economy—production "on the left," the black market and the "service" sector—when taken together amount to a duplicate of the national economy, casting their shadow over it and in a number of instances paralyzing state institutions and making them non-functional. Most offensive of all is the fact that any measures (such as a resolution on unearned income, an increase in the price of scarce goods, etc.) intended to limit the development of the shadow economy lead to a rise in prices on the black market and in the fees paid to the "service" sector.

[Question] What about the system of cooperatives, envisioned as an alternative to the shadow economy? Does it not help rectify this situation? Or can we not yet say that it has been effective?

[Answer] The scale and characteristics which it has begun to assume are already in contradiction to the emphasis which the state placed on it. The principal problem is its lack of its own subsidiary economy. It acquires its raw materials and food products from the state-run sector, at state prices, and then sells its finished products at its own prices, which is only fair, since individual labor goes into the production of the goods. Yet what is the end result but an artificial price increase? Look at the sectors in which the great majority of cooperatives in our republic have concentrated their operations. They have opened restaurants and cafes and are baking bread and pastries. Where are they getting the meat, flour, vegetables and fruits, eggs, milk and sugar, if they are not producing them themselves? As a consequence the apple that you eat sitting at a table in a cooperative cafe costs you more than if you had bought it at the highest price at the bazaar and eaten it at home. What about a loaf of bread for 50 kopecks or a ruble? True, thus far it is better than what you buy from the state-run stores. But will that last?! The rolls, at least, no longer taste any different than the ones sold in state stores. In a word, the cooperative food service system should stop and think about what it is doing, because the distortion is already visible. The operations of all sorts of sewing and small-scale cooperatives should also be analyzed thoroughly. Otherwise there is a danger that they will be transformed into underground production facilities or become part of the "service" sector of the shadow economy—in fact, of course, rather than in name.

[Question] Korkhmaz Dzhangirovich, we have come to the main point: the social consequences of the shadow economy. The entire Azerbaijani people and the entire multiethnic population of our republic are deeply troubled by the well-known events of this year, and quite frankly the situation remains tense. Giving a principled, partylike assessment of those events, Comrade A. Kh.



Vezirov described what happened as an explosion of many years' accumulated dissatisfaction with living, working and everyday conditions and a protest against social injustice. What is your opinion as one of Azerbaijan's leading economists?

[Answer] I would put it more modestly... I am merely a representative... The shadow economy is a cancerous tumor which has metastasized throughout our republic's entire national economy. And it has done so to such an extent that everyone feels the pain regardless of sex, age, religious belief, ethnicity or position. Putting this in economic terms, the operations of the shadow economy have led to an imbalance between the income and expenses of people employed in public production. An individual compares his expenses with his salary, and then in order to balance these two figures himself becomes an active participant in one sector of the shadow economy or another, dividing his labor into two parts: for a salary in the national economy, and for the appropriate "rates" in the shadow economy. Since rates are higher in the latter, his highest-quality labor is expended in the shadow economy, and labor productivity in public production declines proportionately. In other words, labor for the good of the republic, for its social and spiritual development, takes a back seat because the individual is forced to feed, clothe and shoe his family and himself. Therefore, for example, one can get better care from a paid physician; a patient who does not pay must spend more time going to clinics or languishing in a hospital bed. Terrible, but true.

The majority of individuals drawn into the orbit of the shadow economy are merely on the rolls in public production, yet are in fact "dead" as far as it is concerned. These are "dead souls" who cannot be counted by the State Statistical Committee, yet who are counted as workers by planning organs and included in plans for the national economy. In actuality this sort of "worker" is not standing at his lathe, but is instead standing on sawhorses in someone's apartment painting the ceiling, earning more than he is paid officially by the state. And the amount of labor he puts into a job depends on how much he is paid. Another such "worker" sits at the bazaar behind a barricade of greens or tomatoes, tenderly straightening sacks of hulled nuts. He is not going to show you his diploma certifying a degree in higher education. These are the forces about which Comrade Vezirov said: "As a result of economic miscalculations, today approximately a quarter of a million people of employable age are not engaged in public production." And he added that "the increasing number of young people in this population category is particularly alarming." Do not be offended if I say that some of them may be subscribers to this newspaper. But the first secretary said "approximately"; I as an economist would say "more than" a quarter of a million.

The aforementioned economic miscalculations gave rise to a number of disproportions in the economy. The present level of social development in our republic is not

in line with the needs of the public, and the work being done by ministries, departments and local soviets in this regard is not adequate for a normal life. Due to a longstanding lack of adequate attention to ways of reinforcing the material base of the social sphere, and due to the "leftover principle" when it comes to allocating capital investment funds for its development, a disproportion has arisen between the actual amount of facilities in the social infrastructure and demand for them. Specifically, provision to the people of our republic of various facilities as compared to nationwide standards looks like this: housing—70.3 percent; preschool facilities—33.9 percent; hospitals—75.1 percent; retail trade volume per capita—59.1 percent. This is a statistical confirmation and illustration of what I have just said.

I could also cite other problems, but I do not believe there is any need to burden the readers with an analysis of them, as the newspapers have already written quite a lot on the subject. They include: an economically unfounded structure of interrepublic ties; a high percentage of raw materials and semi-processed materials among our exports (the only people who do this are the poor, the lazy or the irresponsible); an imperfect industrial structure based on low technology; incorrect specialization of our republic economy; increasing difficulty in supplying the population with food; the issuing of money (too much is already hidden away in the public's pockets, as a result of which the state is forced to constantly "print more" and put more "paper" into circulation); physical and technical aging of production equipment. And the list goes on.

[Question] What are the roots of these problems, and how can we eliminate the AzSSR's social and economic lag behind all-union indices?

[Answer] The problem is rooted in irresponsibility and poor economic management on the part of certain heads of sectors and enterprises, plus the long shadow cast on the national economy by the aforementioned second economy. G. Kh. Popov, doctor of economic sciences and Moscow State University professor (you can read his comments in OGONEK, No 33, 1988), has written that at the present stage of restructuring it is essential that we create a model administrator who will take into consideration not only the state's interests but also the interests of his enterprise. Analysis of economic failures during the period of stagnation indicates that the principal reason for them was poor management: administration of the economy was in the hands of economically illiterate individuals who lacked initiative. Today the majority of administrators are not familiar with the elementary diagram of simple and expanded reproduction of social product.

In our country and republic there are hundreds of courses and dozens of advanced training institutes for administrative cadres. Specialists who do not have a mastery of the culture and elements of administration (of sectors) head them and serve as instructors. We can see



this in administrative management methods, in resolutions by directive organs, in the way salespeople treat customers, in the dumping of valuable waste products, etc. Today's economic administrator is guided by just one motto: "Health is the most important thing! Everything else can be bought with money." This is a major error, and it brings in its wake a chain of other errors. Today we need to select and train economic administrators in the spirit of Western managers, who have a mastery of the theory of system analysis and knowledge of global economic processes, who have a hand on the pulse of world scientific-technical progress. Because considering the large bill that has been handed us by restructuring there is not and cannot be any room for an isolated national economy without ties to the economy of the whole country, just as there can be no Soviet economy without ties to the world economy. When this is properly understood and the aforementioned distortions eliminated, Azerbaijan's national economy will grow stronger, get back on its feet and stop casting such an unpleasant shadow. Our first task is to shorten that shadow. Restructuring is giving us an opportunity to do so.

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**AzSSR Education Minister on Importance of Bilingual Education**  
18300143 Baku MOLODEZH AZERBAYDZHANA  
in Russian 1 Oct 88 p 2

[Article by A. Useynov, "Continuing Education: Azerbaijani-Russian Bilingualism"]

[Text] [Useynov] The active quest for new forms and concepts for forming the system of continuing education from the kindergarten to the institute of higher learning also touches the area of Azerbaijani-Russian bilingualism. Analysis of its current state, made in the article "Whom do we serve? What do we serve?" (M.A. No. 100, 1988) testifies to the need for serious positive changes in this sphere of teaching and education. We asked the Minister of Peoples Education of Azerbaijan, M.R. Mamedov, to talk about perestroika in the system of Azerbaijani-Russian bilingualism on the eve of Teacher's Day.

[Mamedov] As a scientific methodological system and active factor of socioeconomic development, bilingualism in the Republic requires radical renewal. Many problems have accrued that need to be cleared up, and some of them, to be resolved all over again. Toward this end there are plans at the state level to develop and adopt two independent integrated programs: "Azerbaijani Language in the Russian Lecture Hall" and "Russian Language in the Azerbaijani Lecture Hall". We especially stress that the issue is a system of continuing education, from kindergarten to the institute of higher learning.

Both programs will reflect the Republic's very rich experience in implementation of bilingualism at schools and higher institutions. Unfortunately, all is not well in

the organization of this practice. In recent years, positive advances in teaching the Azerbaijani language in the Russian-language general and higher school have not been made. The public's complaints are justified: the issue is learning the Azerbaijani language, the state language of the Republic. This means that methodological support should also correspond to modern requirements. But meanwhile there is a perceptible shortage of dictionaries, phrase books, self-instruction manuals, regional geographic texts, and literature for reading. In short, we still must formulate a qualitatively new system of continuing education in this field.

We intend to involve broad strata of the public, scholars, teachers, writers, and cultural figures in developing the integrated programs. The Ministry of Peoples Education of the Republic believes that this work should be done publicly, with allowance for the opinions of all strata of the populace. Specifically, it has been decided widely to discuss the integrated programs, to develop a unified concept, determine variants of study programs, plan textbook models, their content, etc...

What gave rise to this? Analysis of the state of teaching of the Azerbaijani language in the Russian lecture hall, just as Russian studies in the Azerbaijani lecture hall, in higher and general schools, and especially the level of language training of students at higher institutions of learning, testifies first of all to the alienation of the systems of teaching language and literature in academic institutions of different levels of education, and secondly, to their insufficient scientific and methodological sophistication. Essentially, linguistic methods science has not provided the Azerbaijani school with a sufficiently flexible and clear-cut concept for implementing bilingualism for the present day. There are no scientific methodological principles for a complete course of teaching, neither in the eleven-year school nor in the higher school. Technical schools and professional technical academies naturally duplicate the condition of the middle school.

Unfortunately, attempts at renewal undertaken in the last 10 to 15 years were limited merely to mechanical revamping of academic programs and corresponding textbooks. With the rare exception, neither these programs nor the textbooks in use today have undergone an approval period or experimentation, something that is mandatory in these cases. We grope in the dark, so to speak: one thing may work out and another not. To put it mildly, this primitive approach naturally cannot ensure an effective and quality return. It is surprising that to this point a so-called "linguistic topography" map, reflecting the level of distribution of the language medium, has still not been compiled in the Republic. Scholars have still not formed a common opinion concerning what should be given preference in teaching a language: conversational speech or grammar. Is it not obvious? The school should form a full-fledged speaker of the language, able both to write and to speak at a good level.

In the textbooks of Russian language and literature, which suffer from a dry, unexpressive style, information of a regional geographic nature, history, culture, and present-day socioeconomic progress in Azerbaijan, is very poorly reflected. In the diversity of information, the primary or higher student should extract the main idea from the textbook: mastery of the Russian language by the broad masses of the Azerbaijani people has promoted and continues to promote the intensification and monolithic unity of the fraternal alliance of the Soviet people, the vigorous interplay of discourse between nations, the deepening of proletarian internationalism and friendship of peoples. The same flaws are inherent in the textbooks of the Azerbaijani language used today in the Russian-language lecture hall of academic institutions in the Republic. There are no psychologically subtle, thought-out textual materials in the textbooks to foster the self-awareness of the worker-internationalist, the builder-renewer of socialist society, or to elevate the world-view and moral resources of the citizenry.

We are seriously concerned by the state of methodological support of Azerbaijani-Russian bilingualism, and the adoption in practice of innovative methods of teaching and education. There is an impressive group of scholars and philologists working in the Republic, highly qualified methodologists, but they do not actively contribute to the cause of radical restructuring of bilingualism. In particular, we should significantly raise the content level of philological education in the specialized Institute of Russian Language and Literature imeni M.F. Akhundov. The system of training of teacher cadres is also in need of radical restructuring.

All these problems, accumulated over many years, require profound analysis and study in open and public discussions. We should develop a collective program to restructure the system of Azerbaijani-Russian bilingualism. With this goal, in November the Ministry of Peoples Education will conduct a scientific-methods conference. An initiative group has been formed to prepare for it.

[Useynov] In this regard we ask all scholars, researchers, experimenters, methods specialists, teachers, and figures of science and culture to send their suggestions, comments, and drafts of programs, concepts, and models of renewal to the initiative group.

Its address - Baku-370010, Shaumyan St. 40, Azerbaijan Scientific-Research Institute of Pedagogical Sciences.

#### **Education Official on State of Language Study in UkSSR Capital**

18110013a Kiev LITERATURNIA UKRAYINA  
in Ukrainian No 45, 10 Nov 88 p 3

[Article by Volodymyr Tatarenko: "One Would Want More: A Few Words About Language Problems in the Ukrainian Capital"]

[Text] "I would like to ask about language problems in the Ukrainian capital. What is being done in this area by public education agencies?"

I asked the above question of M. I. Hrytsan, deputy chief of the Kiev City Public Education Administration.

"Of course strong feelings toward one's native language must be instilled in a person at an early age," replied Mykola Ivanovych. "This is precisely how we guide the activities of children's preschool facilities. In 1987, for example, Ukrainian was the language of instruction at 201 kindergartens, and 12 had mixed groups (that is, both Ukrainian and Russian), while this year 216 kindergartens are Ukrainian, and 62 have mixed groups. This year 48,900 preschoolers are learning Ukrainian—that is, 8,900 more than last year. And this means that next year a great many more children will enroll in Ukrainian schools."

Exempting children from studying the Ukrainian language, which in recent years has taken on a truly mass character, is one of the most critical problems for Kiev's schools. Things even got to the point where exemption became a matter of prestige for some parents. And the children who received their parents' "blessing" passed on their attitude toward the Ukrainian language to... the teachers.

This year 12,275 pupils were exempted from studying Ukrainian. This is a substantial figure. But it represents only 4.8 percent of the city's students. There are almost 258,000 secondary students and elementary pupils in Kiev. The fact is that due to measures taken by public education agencies, there has been a declining trend in the number of children who do not study Ukrainian. And these efforts begin in the second grade, for it is precisely in the second grade that problems with exemptions begin, which frequently develop into rather sharp conflicts.

In 1987 428 second-graders were exempted from studying Ukrainian, while this year there were only 167 exemptions. And M. I. Hrytsan is firmly convinced that this number will decline further. Mykola Ivanovych has a grounds for his optimism: in Kiev's Leningradskiy and Kharkovskiy rayons, this year not a single second-grader was exempted from studying Ukrainian, and only two in Pecherskiy Rayon.

Intensive language-study classes are also being established to help schoolchildren master their native language. To date such classes have been formed at six Kiev schools.

One critical problem is the fact that a substantial percentage of teachers of various subjects who are teaching at schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction themselves have an inadequate mastery or do not have a mastery of this language. It is bad enough, for example, in the case of an instructor in basic military training or physical culture, but what about a teacher who must teach students not only the fundamentals of his subject but specialized terminology as well?

There are three teachers' schools in Kiev which prepare kindergarten and elementary teachers. Instruction at these schools is both in Ukrainian and Russian. The language of instruction depends on each individual instructor, for there is no government regulation which requires that instruction be given in one specific language or the other. The presently-existing confusion in this area is gradually being corrected, and instruction will be done in the national language of the republic.

The list of schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction is gradually growing, although much more slowly than one would want. (Presently 40 schools in Kiev are operating with Ukrainian as the language of instruction, enrolling a total of 28,500 children, who comprise 20.6 percent of the total number of schoolchildren in Kiev. A total of 39,500 children are enrolled in Ukrainian classes at 90 Russian-Ukrainian schools).

This year, for example, only three out of nine newly-built schools are officially Ukrainian. As regards one of them, No 274, this classification is "stretching a point": 852 pupils are enrolled in its Ukrainian classes, and 968 in its Russian ones. The situation is somewhat better at School No 273 (both these schools are situated in Kharkovskiy Rayon): 715 pupils are enrolled in Ukrainian classes, and 334 in Russian ones.

Ukrainian classes have been established at Russian schools No 271 (Podolskiy Rayon) and No 272 (Dneprovskiy Rayon). In the first of these there are Ukrainian classes almost for every grade—94 of the 530 pupils at School No 271 are enrolled in Ukrainian classes. At the other school only one Ukrainian class has been formed to date, in which 26 first-graders are enrolled.

Teachers say that the main reason for the situation is parents who insist that their children attend Russian schools or Russian classes at Ukrainian schools.

The fact is that instruction is exclusively in Ukrainian only at one new school built this year in the Ukrainian capital. It is School No 277, which is located on Tro-yeshchyna Hill. I visited this school. I deliberately did not inform the principal, Lyudmila Stepanovna Semenova, with a phone call in advance, in order not to cause her additional work. The pupils were in the middle of class when I arrived. I could not help but pause for a moment by a door through which the melodic sounds of a piano were coming: a folk song melody would be played, and the pupils were supposed to name the title of the song. And to my surprise, the children responded in almost choir-like unison. It turns out that people are familiar with these folk songs in a city where the Ukrainian folk song has been mercilessly drowned out by the mighty, high-decibel beat of heavy-metal rock. And the teacher was not only reinforcing but further developing this knowledge. When the principal and I entered the classroom during recess there was another surprise awaiting me, because Svetlana Mykhaylivna Svarych (this was the teacher's name) is a graduate of the Kiev

Conservatory and until recently taught at the music education faculty at the Kiev Pedagogic Institute. And she took a position at this school, she told me, because music instruction is too neglected here....

A Folk Art and Ethnography Room will soon be ready to receive visitors at School No 277. This project is under the direction of L. O. Horska. Lyudmyla Oleksandrivna is a jack-of-all-trades: she embroiders, paints, and weaves.... And she teaches her pupils these skills. L. O. Horska and her assistants Oleh and Kateryna Pronenko, Olena Kovalchuk, and Iryna Kushch are endeavoring to set up the room in such a manner that the children are able to develop their abilities in the most varied areas of the folk arts....

I. H. Chepil, a teacher with 30 years of experience, teaches Ukrainian at this school.

"I am pleased," said Ivan Hryhorovych, "that there are more and more Ukrainian schools in Kiev, for the residents of this city, which happens to be the capital of our republic, unfortunately do not know well the living language of our people with its wealth of nuances...."

Of course it is premature to congratulate ourselves over these perceptible changes. But we are on the road toward carrying out Lenin's precept "...on the territory of the Ukraine... to implement in a practical manner the right of the worker masses to use their native language as the medium of instruction in school and as a means of communication in all Soviet Government establishments, vigorously opposing attempts to push the Ukrainian language into a secondary position by artificial means, on the contrary transforming the Ukrainian language into an instrument of Communist enlightenment of the worker masses."

#### Press Attack on BSSR Intelligentsia Causes Furor

**Article Turns Workers Against Intelligentsia**  
*18000263a Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA*  
*in Russian 4 Nov 88 p 3*

[Article by Ernest Yalugin: "I Cannot Believe It"]

[Text] "The time has come for fruitful reflections (?), constructive decisions and specific, deliberate actions"—that is how the article ends that has compelled me to take up my pen. For I do not know what sort of "fruitful reflections" the authors have in mind, but one can already sense the "specific actions." The news has flown around Minsk: discussion clubs are being closed down—enough, that means, of speaking up, or, as the authors put it, "the time for clamorous rallies has passed." Then the press carries in installments a series of articles, for some reason reproduced in quantity by the BELORUSSIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY, that are very similar in spirit, where one can see a plainly expressed

attempt to pit workers against the creative intelligentsia—even the word “writer” is degradingly put in quotation marks. Well, the newspaper *VECHERNIY MINSK* for 24 October provides a whole set of articles under the eloquent heading “You and We Are Going Different Ways!” Who is “we,” and who is “you”? Why, “we” is no other than the working class, and “you” is the republic’s creative unions. Because, it is claimed, the latter supports informal young people’s organizations and its members also have, without being asked, become founders of the historical enlightenment society, Martyrology of Belorussia (the working name—Committee-58, as a reminder of the most terrible article of the RSFSR Criminal Code during the time of Stalin’s mass repressions). And then in reply one hears from Minsk’s working people the resolute demand to “summon to order the pretenders (?), who have gone too far (!).” Practically the same thing is repeated in the newspaper’s next issue, in a selection under the title “Restructuring Is Not Playing at Democracy.” What sort of play is there here, when we are hearing that word “summon,” which is very familiar from former times?! At the same time N. P. Buryy, a worker at a medical equipment repair shop, reproaches the intelligentsia for eating the bread he has earned. Oh, comrade, if you had read some of the newspapers from 1937 you would have immediately seen something similar: the Stalinists dishonored the “rotten intelligentsia” through the mouths of the proletariat. And then came the simple toilers’ turn to follow them and be deported by the thousands—to develop Kolyma, the “marvelous planet.” And when M. V. Vishnevskaya, a plasterer at MPOID [expansion unknown], declares in the newspaper that she doesn’t need “any of that Committee-58,” one thinks that the reason is probably simply that no one has explained to her the significance of that terrible number. I cannot believe that a working person refuses to finally learn the whole truth about the mass murder of her countrymen by the Stalinists.

But I want, all the same, to return to the article with the quotation from which I began my letter: “The Evolution of Political Ignorance.” It for some reason appeared in many newspapers, including oblast ones. It was signed by five veterans holding higher scholarly degrees who are retired on republic pensions. They were headed by Academician N. Dorozhkin, honored BSSR scientist, whose field, as far as I know, was the protection of plants against pests, especially potato and tomato mycosis and phytophthora. The authors attacked the informal young people’s associations with accusations of the most diverse sort. And all this was spiced up with information obtained by a means that I do not entirely understand. Where did they get that information? Incidentally, for that they could have criminal charges brought against them. For even during Stalinist times that sort of information was not regarded by the Criminal Code as proof. That is why the “Special NKVD Conferences” were created, in order not to have to fuss over judicial procedures. In that connection there is no possibility of even discussing such an article—it is indecent. Although one would like to call on people: come to your senses! In

general, I think that extremism, no matter on what side it manifests itself, will not further the cause of restructuring. I also want to say that the issue of ancient Belorussian symbols has been whipped up enough. Isn’t it clear that if various sorts of traitors are attempting or have attempted to make use of them, they must have understood that they are dear to Belorussians and can be used as a screen. And therefore, evidently, they should simply be returned to their legitimate owner, the people, as its historical relics, and thereby an immediate stop should be put to any attempts to capitalize on them.

I could still somehow understand if that article had been carried by the aforementioned *VECHERNIY MINSK*. But how did the authors of that confused and simply morally ugly article deserve to have it circulated throughout the whole republic? Take, for example, N. Dorozhkin, who back in the early ’30s took part in persecuting so-called “national democratism” in agricultural biology. Let me cite, as just one example, his report in the BSSR Academy of Sciences in 1932, which had the eloquent title, “Against Bourgeois Theories (do you sense the meaning?) in the Field of Plant Protection.” It was subsequently published in the magazine *SAVETSKAYA KRAINA*, No 4, 1932. In 1947 our author once again distinguished himself. This time it was in the persecution of “bourgeois” geneticists, including Academician A. G. Zhebrak, president of the BSSR Academy of Sciences, whose sad fate is now known to many.

Or take another of the article’s authors—A. Filimonov. I think it will suffice to name here just one “work” for which he received his scholarly title in order to understand how and in what direction he might move restructuring—his dissertation is titled “I. V. Stalin—organizator i rukovoditel pechaty bakinskikh bolshevikov” [I. V. Stalin—Organizer and Leader of the Press of the Baku Bolsheviks]. There is also information about his other works, but I think that the one cited is sufficient for us to ask the question: how could people with such a past be offered a republic-wide forum from which to exhort the creative unions and young people who have started to be seriously interested in political and social problems? Of course, among young people there really still is a lot that has not been fully checked out and also a great deal of youthful maximalism. But only in discussions and only through active searching and collective analysis of the facts and phenomena of reality, the past and the present, can they come to know how they should build their own future. After all, they are the ones who will live there! And they yearn, of course, to live according to the laws of truth, goodness, social justice, and human decency that were dreamed of by their forefathers who created the great revolution—the Leninists who were mercilessly cut down by the Stalinist terror.

A. F. Sergeyev, an adjuster at the Integral Production Association, is for some reason indignant, judging from his article in *VECHERNIY MINSK*, “that it is most of all young people who are arguing for discussion clubs”—and not just young people, but students, at that. But

would it be better if young people continued to numb their brains with alcohol or were claimed by hooligan gangs like the one that for such a long time operated with impunity in Stepyanka? But A. F. Sergeyev also speaks wise words: it is true that "it is necessary to create the sort of conditions for bureaucrats that will get the public to turn away from them. Because sooner or later the bureaucrats, if allowed to have their way, will suppress restructuring." True words! But will restructuring succeed if someone "suppresses" the creative intelligentsia? Today calls are already being made to "summon it to order." Tomorrow might its members unequivocally be declared "enemies of the people," as happened in the past? After all, the aforementioned authors of the article, who for some reason are being given the "green light," have rich experience in this regard. Can it be that a need for it has already arisen? I cannot believe it!

#### **Republic Press Deplored**

18000263b Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA  
in Russian 4 Nov 88 p 3

[Article by Konstantin Tarasov: "Hear Everyone Out"; final paragraph is unattributed source commentary]

[Text] Contrary to the policy of glasnost, our republic press, in my view, is keeping whole layers of spiritual, cultural and social life secret. In particular, readers receive distorted information on what goes on at writers' congresses, plenums and meetings. In reports by the BELORUSSIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY writers' speeches are abbreviated, and everything trenchant and lively is discarded; castrated, truncated speeches by writers put them in the role of fools occupied exclusively with their personal concerns, or at best with aesthetic exploration. For example, nothing remained from V. Domashevich's speech at the writers' congress. Transcripts of congresses and plenums of the Writers' Union, or of other creative unions, are not published. The censor's standards are also imposed on information published by LIM [probable expansion: LITERATURNYY MINSK]. Such a deliberate policy results in simple people's mistrust in the creative intelligentsia. The rumors and gossip that are spread around seemingly cannot be refuted—there is no forum. The disgraceful articles in the newspaper VECHERNIY MINSK that were recently presented to the city of a million and a half are arousing legitimate anxiety in everyone who has started to believe in the possibility of democracy and the reality of the renewal of public life. The newspaper immediately published the resolution of the meeting at the House of Political Enlightenment that contains an appeal to the government to ban Committee-58 (the public organization for the investigation of Stalin's crimes in Belorussia in the 1920s through 1950s). Such a decision, it must be noted, is unconstitutional. No public group can demand a ban on the expression of views by another group, organization or association. But that same newspaper, in appealing to the reader, "forgot" to publish the documents of Committee- 58 and other

associations, against which an active campaign of persecution has begun. It is impossible to reconcile oneself to the fact that such national cultural figures as Vasil Bykov and the writers S. Grakhovskiy, P. Prudnikov and Yan Skrygan, who are former prisoners of Stalin's camps, are called pretenders. I am certain that in 10 years or so the authors of such present-day articles will be running around libraries and cutting their opuses out of newspapers, as was done by the articles of the savagely critical articles published in newspapers in the 1930s through 1950s.

In essence, today a committee in defense of Stalinism is being set up in opposition to the anti-Stalinist Committee-58. There is no other way to understand the newspaper uproar over Committee-58 and the young people's associations. The public movement Memorial, whose purpose is not just the creation of monuments to the victims of Stalin's genocide, but the changing of attitudes, is active in Moscow, Leningrad, Chita, Yaroslavl and other cities. Yet in our republic we are witnessing the vulgarization of attitudes and the revival of thinking in the terminology of the 1930s. If one authorizes clubs where there is no less than 70 percent workers, what will you do with the intelligentsia? With students? With office employees? If we are silent now, tomorrow we will once again have to breathe the poison vapors of the Stalin- Brezhnev swamp in which we lived for decades. I do not want for that poison to kill the souls of our children, or for them to live their lives as we have lived ours—in blindness and dumbness, with bowed heads.

It is no secret that the forces of bureaucracy that long for past times and want to leave Belorussia a somnolent island in the sea of restructuring are still active. The bureaucracy has brought the country to chaos in its economic and political life. It is deliberately sowing chaos even today, in order to feel sure of itself. Blame is being shifted to other people's shoulders. That bureaucracy is frightened by uncertainty about its future. It is the one that is violating citizens' constitutional rights, which is evident, in particular, by the ban on holding the Dzyady mass public requiem. The reference to the lack of a tradition can only cause perplexity: we had no tradition of celebrating Minsk Day, and we had no tradition of restructuring or of a lot else. It is instructive that our bureaucracy would like to eradicate the new traditions and stick with the old ones.

Therefore, I believe that the republic's population should be informed through our republic press of all the documents adopted by the Martyrology of Belorussia historical and cultural society, as well as those adopted by all young peoples and non-young people's grassroots organizations, in order that the people have objective information and the right either to accept the views of those societies and associations or to disagree with them.

In the period of democratization and glasnost, every person should have the opportunity to express his viewpoint. But in this process, of course, extremes and crude



attacks on opponents are impermissible. In no case must one forget the standards of debate. One must take people's frequently dissimilar stands into account and listen attentively to different opinions. The main thing is that the expression of diverse viewpoints lead, in the final analysis, not to disunity but to the unification of social forces and the consolidation of all who have joined the ranks of restructuring. It is very important that in debates and the struggle of opinions, attempts to drive a wedge between the creative intelligentsia and the working class, between those who are allies in the campaign for the renewal of society, be completely ruled out. The idea of the consolidation of all healthy forces runs plainly through all the decisions of the 19th Party Conference.

**Press Viewed as Reactionary**

18000263 Moscow SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA  
in Russian 4 Nov 88 p 3

[Interview with Nil Gilevich, first secretary of the board of the BSSR Writers' Union, conducted by a BELORUSSIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY correspondent: "Time to Join Forces"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Gilevich] I think that it is clear today not just to me but to everyone who is concerned over the destiny of restructuring that the broadest possible support among the entire people is necessary for its success. And above all we need the efforts of people who are convinced of the need for fundamental changes in our life and for a return to the Leninist model of socialism, taking into account, of course, the specific features of the development of society today. And therefore, in my opinion, the idea of launching a movement of the entire people for restructuring merits support. The reason I do not say "people's front" is that that combination of words arouses in many people's minds associations with confrontation and the joining of forces against something or someone. The people's movement should be "for" everything that was proclaimed at the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Party Conference and that we need to carry out.

Naturally, the question immediately arises of such a movement's platform—political, social and cultural. Digressing a bit, let me say that I personally know a good many people who are not just speaking out but crying out "for" restructuring. But maybe it is precisely because I know them that I do not want to be in the same ranks with them. I have grounds for believing that not everyone understands the goals of restructuring the same, and those who are fond of shouting are trying to muddy the water as much as possible in order to catch fish in it. As I understand it, since restructuring is for socialism, it should have a clear-cut, positive, constructive program. And that does not contradict the rejection of the deformations and distortions of socialism that have occurred

in theory and practice. But it is entirely another matter to undermine the very idea of socialism; after all, in its entire history humanity has not put forward a better idea of a social system.

However, some people want to blindly copy, in Belorussia, the Baltic version of a people's movement and to adopt their program in its entirety. I do not share that viewpoint. Marxist-Leninists are obligated to be tactful and to proceed from actual reality. And the real situation in our republic is not analogous to that in the Baltic regions. It may be that the slogans proclaimed there are consonant with their objectives, although I disagree, in any event, with certain points. And to transfer them to Belorussia from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania is not simply frivolous but would be political adventurism.

In speaking at a meeting of young writers called the "Tuteyshy," I have already said that we should not copy everything that takes place among our neighbors. Some young people have seized on so-called "national symbols." But let us ask ourselves: what will "The Pursuit" [Pagonya] give restructuring? In culture today a matter of extreme importance is expanding the sphere of use of Belorussian language and getting it into the schools—from the kindergarten to the higher school—and having it occupy a fitting place in the life of society. Without that, it will be impossible to solve many other cultural and social problems and to preserve the nation (prevent it from turning into a "population"). And if attention is not focused in this area, it may well happen that the symbols remain but the nation does not. Hardly anyone will object to the use of the coat of arms of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in works of art on historical themes. But the extremely active development of the Belorussian economy and science and the genuine flourishing of culture, which occurred in the '20s when deformations of the socialist course had not yet had their effect, took place under the coat of arms of the BSSR, the BSSR flag! So what is wrong with accomplishing the tasks of restructuring under that flag? Nothing. The other approach is either naivete or something even worse that openly damages the cause of restructuring.

But on the other hand I am distressed by the means that is being used to conduct the debate in the press. The press has been indiscriminately and harshly judging everything and everyone at once in a negative light and opposing attempts to launch certain forms of a social movement. That, in my opinion, is how it has evaluated the activities of the Talaka Association, which was created with the noble goals of studying national history and culture and providing real assistance to cultural monuments—evidence of attention to those issues on the part of young people. Errors and a lack of moderation are natural at that age. And if you take into account the avalanche of negative information that has been made public lately and its impact on youthful minds, both the confusion and the indignation that prompt them to ill-considered actions and extremes become understandable. There is one way here—to work with young people,



be with them constantly, and work together with them to figure out who we are, what we represent, where we are going, and by what means. Young people make mistakes—tell them about that candidly, but without wholesale censure. One must not forget that young people characteristically pick up new ideas faster and proceed more vigorously than older people who are burdened with past experience, failures and doubts.

It is paradoxical, to be sure, that those who are arguing for our purgation of Stalinism permit themselves methods of "debate" that are similar to the methods of those they criticize. If arguments are not found in debate, they resort to foot stomping, shouting and hooting. I doubt that the fighters for true democracy could permit themselves such a thing. Democracy unfailingly presupposes culture, and its arguments cannot be the shout, much less violence. Such methods have long since compromised themselves and today are completely unacceptable. What is needed today is to mobilize all of society's healthy forces and consolidate and join together to accomplish the tasks of restructuring.

**Follow-Up on Uzbek SSR Suppression of Cotton Defoliant Morbidity Research**

18300072 Moscow OGONEK in Russian  
No 33, 13-20 Aug 88 p 25

[Article by Aleksandr Minkin under the rubric "Following Up on OGONEK Features": "The Consequences of Infection"]

[Text] *The article "A Murderous Infection" was read at the Obstetrics and Gynecology NII [Scientific Research Institute] [NIIAiG] in Tashkent on April 6. [For a translation of this item, see pages 35-40 of JPRS report SOVIET UNION: POLITICAL AFFAIRS, JPRS-UPA-88-028 dated 27 Jul 88.]*

*On April 7 Galina Khadzhibayeva, in defending her scientific work the author was discussing, was dismissed.*

*Recall that the sketch described the catastrophic situation with maternal and infant mortality, the shortage of qualified obstetricians, a shortage of tens of thousands of beds and maternity homes without running water or sewage... And here is another misfortune of the region linked with cotton: defoliants and pesticides employed in doses tens of times too large, leading to mass jaundice, miscarriages and the birth of deformed children...*

*That is the very problem that G. Khadzhibayeva is studying.*

**Reprisal**

The acceleration we so honor was displayed this time in the speed of the reprisal for criticism. Before, probably, six months would have passed: they would have accumulated tardy arrivals, caught her up on something else, slapped her with another reprimand... This time they didn't stand on ceremony.

They say this was not a reprisal. There was a competition, they say, and it was a coincidence. But the very same Academic Council had approved the doctoral dissertation of Khadzhibayeva just three months earlier, and on March 24—just 12 days before the punishment—they decreed a leave for the defense. The opinion just changed suddenly.

Varvaru Zigismund was also slated for the same day—a modest and quiet person and a highly skilled specialist carrying out the assignments of the World Health Organization. In the past fall four NIIAiG staffers—Professor G. Ishchenko, docent G. Astafyeva and candidates of sciences V. Zigismund and G. Khadzhibayeva—had written an "Appeal" to the Uzbekistan CP Central Committee on the "extremely unhealthy situation that had taken shape at NIIAiG." Subsequent events developed as follows.

Astafyeva left on her own—"fed up." Khadzhibayeva and Zigismund were punished by the Academic Council. The famous physician Professor G. Ishchenko probably also would not have escaped retribution. But Georgiy Tarasovich died unexpectedly. The illness told on him terribly quickly. The attitude toward the best obstetrician in the republic, no, let's say one of the best (a futile attempt to avoid the usual reproaches for a lack of objectivity) was displayed in its entirety. Only a few of the staffers followed the coffin of a man who had saved the lives of hundreds of women. The last words over the grave were spoken by G. Khadzhibayeva...

**Minutes**

Galina Khadzhibayeva was unanimously censured by all of the staff members at NIIAiG. In their letter they also accused me, the author, of tendentiousness, unfairness, slander and the like "in the attitude toward a large collective." But after all, not a single word was mentioned about the collective in the sketch. Only two people were criticized: the NIIAiG directoress, R. Khodzhayeva, and her deputy, R. Stepanyants. By the time the article came out, they were both "former." The former had been removed, the latter demoted. Their indignation was natural. But what's the collective got to do with it?

(I note, by the way, that there is nothing "insulting" to Khodzhayeva in the word "directoress." "Directoress" means "guide" according to the Latin. And it is no more insulting a word than "poetess" or "stewardess.")

An open party meeting was held at the institute on April 15. The agenda: a discussion of the OGONEK article "A Murderous Infection." Unfortunately I cannot reproduce all the minutes—a most descriptive document, but 17 pages long.

In brief: they stigmatize Khadzhibayeva and Minkin, accusing them of slander and other sins. They even reached the departed Ishchenko—they recalled his "percentage of complications," forgetting that that they passed the most grave and hopeless cases on to the professor.

But two or three instances will have to be cited and commented on.

Senior scientific associate E. Petrosyants asserted at the meeting and later at the Academic Council in my presence that "it is criminal to research the influence of increased doses of pesticides on people." I couldn't believe my ears. Yes, criminal, continued Petrosyants: "The use of fifty-fold doses of pesticides is criminal, and that means that studying the consequences is also a crime." I asked a third time, and he repeated it a third time. It turns out that Khadzhibayeva—the direct descendent of Doctor Mengele—was performing criminal experiments on people. But was it really her that was sprinkling the powder or poisoning the fields? Was it really her sending the women and children to pick the cotton? By his logic, the Japanese doctors studying the consequences of Hiroshima were criminals too.

Senior academic associate R. Stepanyants accused Khadzhibayeva of financial machinations. And this accusation later went into a letter. Khadzhibayeva's laboratory, it turns out, "had a violation of the law—there was no limit set to the wage fund." Hold it! "Financial violations"—this is theft, as a rule. But here it's the opposite, here people were working for nothing. God knows what law they are breaking by doing that. And Stepanyants further reports that a refusal to a request for limits came from "Minister Usmanov himself."

"Minister Usmanov himself," the very same "cotton" minister who was executed. That's who they were asking for money from to prove that it was harmful to work in poisoned cotton fields...

The minutes of the party meeting conclude this way: "Chairman: all in favor? 119. All against? None." The result is especially impressive when you find out that there are 27 communists at NIIAiG, of whom 16 were at the meeting.

And what were they voting for? Two proposals. The first was to remove from NIIAiG not only Khadzhibayeva, but her whole laboratory as well. The second was to write a letter to the CPSU Central Committee about how the collective was insulted and slandered by the "A Murderous Infection" material.

The letter was not sent to the editors. To the CPSU Central Committee! The "collective" doesn't want to engage in debate with the journal, but to settle its hash. And so they write a letter to the very top. A tried and true method.

And they had to annul the Academic Council's decision on the score of Khadzhibayeva and Zigismund anyway. They violated something there in their haste to settle scores. They admitted 40 people over the day of the competition, which is four times more than allowed. I hope this won't be repeated and next time they fire undesirables according to all the rules. Let time pass, it is somehow unseemly right after the article. In February the following description was made of Khadzhibayeva: "a highly qualified researcher," "great experience," "a leader in the subject," "crucial assignments," "indoctrination," "raises," "assimilates the latest," "teaches," "hard-working, conscientious, principled," "author of 59 scientific works, 51 of which have been published"... and the crown: "Enjoys well-deserved respect in the collective." Two months later it was entered in the minutes that "there is no place for Khadzhibayeva in our collective (stormy applause)." This is without principle, comrades!

#### Reaction

On April 7 OGONEK No 13 went to Tashkent subscribers. Telephone calls were made the same day to the editors of the newspaper LITERATURA I ISKUSSTVO UZBEKISTANA. Writers called. Without beating around the bush they said one and the same thing: we should reprint this, since it is true and since it is the pain of our people.

It was not easy to venture this, but the members of the editorial board decided to print it nonetheless. A translation was quickly done, and the article "*Zakhri kotil*" appeared in the next issue. "A Murderous Infection" was then read by millions in Uzbek.

Who was the editorial board afraid of angering? Not the "labor collective" of NIIAiG, of course. Everything connected with cotton is subject to the most steadfast attention. It is "white gold" for those who receive official promotions. For those who bend their backs in the poisoned fields, it is "white death."

Scholars and writers have long spoken openly of the destructiveness of a one-crop system. Cotton takes up almost all the land in Uzbekistan and has displaced vegetables, fruits and livestock. Water is disappearing: cotton requires six waterings while grapes need one. Some 6,000,000 tons go for the chase for unsalable goods in all.

The plan for cotton for Uzbekistan was finally reduced in 1988. By a little. The target remains very intensive. But this was an attempt to introduce crop rotation nonetheless, to constrict one-crop farming at least somewhat. It seemed that realism would gain the upper hand...

But the words spoken by higher republic authorities were read here on April 22: "...at a recent meeting of cotton growers it was decided to add 150,000 tons of cotton-wool to the reduced plan for this year. We considered and consider cotton cultivation to be not a 'burden,' but truly our national pride and our internationalist duty."

The push went into effect. As early as May 1, some team leader promised on the radio to get up to 70 quintals per hectare this year...

And finally, yet another reaction to the material in OGONEK. The editors received a very calm reply from UzSSR Minister of Health S. Bakhramov. The sense of the reply was that the facts have been confirmed, the issues are burning ones and steps are being taken. For example: "In 1986-87 the amount of pesticides employed was reduced to 36 types versus 64 in 1984, including from 10 to 6 highly toxic types." That is excellent. I would only note that it is the list, and not the "amount," of poisons that has been reduced. Moreover, a person doesn't need six highly toxic substances to head for the next world. One is enough.

It was also said in reply that "...before the end of the 12th Five-Year Plan we project the introduction of auxiliary birth and children's institutions with 10,000 beds." Projected is not introduced, however. And if we recall the data of the USSR Ministry of Health according to which Uzbekistan is short some 87,000 children's and obstetric beds, it becomes clear that the republic will have a shortage of a minimum of 77,000 beds by the 13th Five-Year Plan.

The only thing that was really agreeable in the reply was that "the conversion of 353 administrative buildings of other ministries and departments into health-care institutions is projected." It's not so easy for ministries and departments to part with their buildings...

### Silence

And so, the silence was broken. Voices were starting to be heard. But only he who has information can speak. Glasnost is being informed. Let the minutes of the NIIAiG meeting become the property of glasnost and the collective would probably hear the voice of the people.

What would the women who found out about the words of the chief of the Family and Marriage consultants say? "To say that R. Stepanyants does not operate is slander. I also (!) have not operated in recent years, but if I have to, I will go to the table and operate, and for two hours if need be instead of one." Think about these words by this Central Asian gynecologist: "for two hours if need be instead of one." This is for an operation where a second seems an hour for the patient, where a minute is an eternity. And here is not one hour of suffering, but two! What composure! And this is a physician talking.

Every year they promise not to employ children in the cotton harvest. But then somebody "at the regular meeting" of "cotton growers" decides, all right, this is the last time, as an exception and in connection with the bad weather. The children are not called to the meeting.

This time I was in Uzbekistan at the end of April. No hard work at all—not planting, not harvesting. But children with hoes were working in the fields. I went with Khamrakul Askarov—an assistant to the chairman of the Uzbekistan Writers' Union. Eighth grade, sixth grade... They study in the mornings. Then to the fields—from three in the afternoon until eight at night...

"And you rest on Sundays?"

"Yes, on Sundays there is no school. So we are in the fields from eight in the morning to eight at night."

That's how it is...

"The republic shakes with the injustice!" said the chief physician of NIIAiG, Ye. Volobuyeva, at the party meeting, having in mind that the population was insulted for the collective unjustly aggrieved by the OGONEK material. Believe me, Yelena Andreyevna, the republic is "shaking" for quite different reasons...

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### Soviet Scientific Figures Protest Volga-Chogray Canal Project

18300113a Moscow *EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA*  
in Russian No 38, Sep 88 p 9

[Collective letter from Academician B. Laskorin, et al:  
"A Letter to the Newspaper from Scientists"]

[Text] We, a group of specialists professionally associated with the problems of ecology and water conservation, are focusing attention on the extraordinary situation which is evolving in connection with the construction of the Volga-Chogray Canal. The construction of the canal will cause enormous harm to the national economy and will radically worsen the ecological situation on the Lower Volga and the Northern Caspian Littoral, which is today already close to crisis.

Beginning in 1986 the following spoke out against this project: the Ichthyological Commission of the USSR Ministry of Fisheries (May 1986); the All-Union Conference on "Geographical and Economic Problems in the Study and Assimilation of the USSR's Northern Seas" (May 1987); the Department of Geology, Geophysics,

Geochemistry and Mining Sciences of the USSR Academy of Sciences (July 1987); the General Biology Department, USSR Academy of Sciences (March 1988); the Combined Plenum of the All-Union Hydrobiological Society and the Scientific Council on Ichthyology and Hydrobiology of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the Ichthyological Commission of the USSR Ministry of Fisheries (March 1988); and others. The principal shortcomings of the project were pointed out in articles by the mass information media, including *EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA*.

In September 1987, a group of scientists appealed to the CPSU Central Committee and the RSFSR Council of Ministers with a letter entitled "On the Inadmissibility of Building the Volga-Chogray Canal." Subsequently, by order of the directive organs, in October 1987 a special commission of the USSR Academy of Sciences and VASKhNIL [All Union Order of Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V.I. Lenin] was established. The commission made a detailed study of the plan for the canal, worked out by Sevkavgirovodkhoz [State Planning Institute for Water Conservation in the North Caucasus], RSFSR Minvodkhoz [Ministry of Land Improvement and Water Conservation], to include traveling to the site at the invitation of local specialists, and came to the conclusion: "The plan for a Volga-Chogray canal is both economically and ecologically unsound."

In early June 1988, upon examination of the plan for the canal by an expert subcommittee of GEK [State Examining Commission], Gosplan USSR, the majority of the groups (with the exception of the builders) also spoke out against the project. Apparently it was namely for that reason that, prior to the completion of the expert analysis at Gosplan USSR by Comrade V.S. Murakhovskiy, a new commission was urgently convened (under the chairmanship of Academician A.A. Nikonov), which contradicts the decree of the USSR Council of Ministers, "On Increasing the Role of Expert Analysis of Plans for the Construction of Major National-Economic Projects, in Order to Prevent Negative Ecological Consequences."

Most of the members of the commission which was established were either connected with the activity of Minvodkhoz, or had a direct interest in the influx of capital investments to the region in connection with construction of the canal. Incidentally, the make-up of this commission did not include competent ichthyologists, ecologists, geographers, economists, botanists, zoologists, or hydrogeologists; that is, the very specialists who alone could render a qualified judgment on the long-term consequences of building the canal. It is indicative that most of the members of A.A. Nikonov's commission were unfamiliar with the materials from the USSR Academy of Sciences commission and VASKhNIL.

And thus, we are faced with the attempt to achieve a certain result at all costs—to approve the project and to complete the construction which had already begun.

We are convinced that no "improvements" to the project could correct its principally erroneous basis—a hydro-construction concept for solving the problems of Kalmykia.

The canal project has a great many principally ineradicable shortcomings.

1. The salinization, soil saturation and swamp-formation of a significant (hundreds of thousands of hectares) of the territory of Kalmykia. In the soil and hydrogeological conditions of Kalmykia it is impossible to avoid this under any kind of irrigation.
2. Irreparable harm to the fisheries of the Volga-Caspian Basin. The closure of the water intake for three months during the migration of the young sturgeon, which is proposed in the plan, is not supported by the materials of the plan, and far from exhausts the negative effect of the canal on the ichtho-fauna of the Volga and the Northern Caspian.
3. The waters transported by the canal will not meet the quality standards, both because of the high level of pollution during the period of the spring water intake, and because of the peculiarities of the accumulation of water in the Kalmytskiy and Chograyskiy Water Reservoirs.
4. The plan does not solve the problem of the outlet and utilization of drain waters. Letting them flow into the Caspian (as the project calls for) or storing them up in valleys with no outlet in the Chernozem regions cannot be deemed acceptable solutions to the problems, and are in conflict with the Basic Water Legislation of the USSR.
5. The canal precludes the possibility of further economic exploitation of the saiga antelope (receiving thousands of tons of high-quality meat and other raw materials for millions of rubles in foreign currency), and will put the only European population of saiga antelope under the threat of extinction.
6. The canal will cause harm not only to Kalmykia, but also to Stavropol: Irrigation with the waters of the Kalmytskiy and Chograyskiy Water Reservoirs will lead to degradation and salinization of the Chernozems of the North Caucasus, where even today, about 20 percent of the irrigated lands are already salinized.

Thus, the canal not only will not solve the main problems facing Kalmykia—restoration and improvement of the living environment, the struggle with the encroaching desert, and the improvement of agricultural production—it exacerbates them.

The economic basis of the project cannot stand up to criticism. In the plan, the cost of construction is radically understated and the supposed economic effect grossly exaggerated; unrealistic yield levels of agricultural crops under irrigation are derived—1.5 to 2 times higher than

record harvests, from the best fields on certain farms. The plan does not take into consideration the loss of production of natural pastures as a consequence of the hydro-construction (and that is hundreds of thousands of units of feed. As a result the period for repayment of capital investments amounts to not 10 years as asserted in the plan, but more than 25. Moreover, if one considers the capital investments which will be required as a consequence, for reconstruction of the irrigation system and elimination of the consequences of salinization and inundation of the lands, the construction expenses will never be recouped.

It should be noted that in recent months alone the total cost of construction has almost doubled; at the present time, according to the designers' statement, it amounts to three billion rubles. In actuality, the cost of building the water engineering installations turns out to be significantly higher, since construction must be carried out under conditions of constant flooding of a significant portion of the canal from ground water, which was not accounted for in the plans.

The problems of Kalmykia can and must be solved without construction of a canal, on the basis of a principally different conception—agricultural land reclamation. This conception includes improving the structure of agriculture, fundamental improvement of pastures, pasture rotation, effective use of existing local water resources, utilizing sequential aqueducts. The conception indicated was developed in 1986 by Yuzhgi-promzem [State Planning Institute for Southern Land Reclamation] of the RSFSR State Agro-Industrial Commission, as part of the general plan for combating desert encroachment on Chernozems and Kizlyar pastures. It requires one-fourth to one-fifth of the expense of a canal, and can be paid off in 4-5 years. Instead of building a canal, assets and efforts must be directed toward completing and implementing this concept.

The canal construction which has commenced violates USSR laws on the preservation and use of historical and cultural monuments as well. There are about 400 archaeological sites along the canal route, which absolutely must be examined.

It is alarming that the Volga-Chogray canal project, as well as other major water-management projects connected with the Volga (Volga-Don-II), are being implemented without an approved plan for comprehensive use and preservation of the water resources of the Volga Basin. The lack of such a plan permits Minvodkhoz to literally divide the Volga into pieces, which will inevitably lead to an ecological and economical catastrophe.

All of the points stated permit us to affirm that the Volga-Chogray canal project is without foundation.

**Academician B. LASKORIN**, chairman, USSR Academy of Sciences Commission on Working Out Problems of Conservation of Natural Water Resources; **Academician**

**B. SOKOLOV**, academician-secretary of the Department of Geology, Geophysics, Geochemistry and Mining Sciences; **Academician A. RUMYANTSEV**, chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences council on the problem of "The Objective Economic Laws of the Development of Socialism"; **A. YABLOKOV**, associate-member, USSR Academy of Sciences, chairman of the Ichthyological Commission, USSR Ministry of Fisheries.; **I. SHILOV**, associate-member, USSR Academy of Sciences, chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences commission on the problem of "The Ecology and the Anthropogenic Dynamics of Biological Systems"; **V. KOTLYAKOV**, associate-member, USSR Academy of Sciences, Director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute on Geography; **Academician N. MOISEYEV**, chairman of the Ecological Future Committee, USSR Scientific Research Department [SoyuzNIO], and an active member of VASKhNIL; **Academician S. SHATALIN**, chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council on the Comprehensive Problem of Social and Cultural Development; **V. TIKHOMIROV**, associate-member, USSR Academy of Sciences, vice-president, All-Union Botanical Society; **Academician G. GOLITSYN**, deputy chairman of the Scientific Council of the Department of the Physics of the Atmosphere, Research on the Theory of the Climate of the Earth and the Planets; **Academician N. SHILO**, deputy academician-secretary of the Department of Geology, Geophysics, Geochemistry and Mining Sciences; **V. KOVDA**, associate-member, USSR Academy of Sciences, president of the All-Union Society of Soil Scientists; **G. GAN**, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Nature Conservation Society; **Doctor of Biological Sciences A. KARPEVICH** (VNIRO [All Union Scientific Research Institute for Ocean Fisheries and Oceanography]); **Doctor of Chemical Sciences A. SEMENOV** (AzNIIRKh [Azov Scientific Research Institute on Fisheries]); **Doctor of Biological Sciences M. SHATUNOVSKIY** (IEMEZh [Institute of Animal Evolutionary Morphology and Ecology imeni A.N. Severtsov]); **Doctor of Agricultural Sciences N. MINASHINA** (Soil Institute imeni V.V. Dokuchayev); **Doctor of Economic Sciences V. DANILOV-DANILYAN** (Academy on the National Economy at the USSR Council of Ministers); **Doctor of Geographical Sciences B. VINOGRADOV** (leader of the Working Group on Aerospace Methods, Soviet Committee of the UNESCO International Program, "Man and the Biosphere"); **Doctor of Economic Sciences M. LEMESHEV** (KEPS [Standing Commission on the Study of Natural Productive Forces of the USSR] at the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences); **Candidate of Economic Sciences S. ZhUKOV** (USSR Academy of Sciences Commission on Working Out Problems of Conservation of Natural Water Resources); **Doctor of Geologic and Mineralogical Sciences Ye. PASHKIN** (Moscow Geological Exploration Institute); **Candidate of Geographical Sciences V. DUBININA** (Ichthyological Commission, USSR Ministry of Fisheries); **Candidate of Physical and Mathematical Sciences L. ZELIKINA** (Central Economic-Mathematical Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences); **Candidate of Biological Sciences Ye.**



**PASTUKHOVA** (All Union Scientific Research Institute on Nature, USSR State Committee on Nature Conservation); **Candidate of Economic Sciences N. YURINAP** (USSR Academy of Sciences Commission on Working Out Problems of Conservation of Natural Water Resources); and **A. MAKSIMUK**, section chief at the Central Scientific Research Laboratory, RSFSR Main Administration for Hunting and Game Preserve Management.

**Writers Exhort Siberian, Far Eastern Workers To Protect Environment**

18300113b Moscow *LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA* in Russian 2 Sep 88 p 4

[Letter from Writers of Russia, to "Workers of Geologic Parties; Builders of Oil and Gas Pipelines, Highways, Railroads, Villages and Towns; to the Workers of the Timber Industry and the Timber Processing Industry; to Gold and Diamond Miners; to Rivermen and Aviators; and to all the Working Collectives Opening the Industrial Regions of the North, Siberia and the Far East"]

[Text] Dear Friends!

You have written glorious pages in the labor chronicles of the Soviet nation. Through your labor—fraught with deprivation, often without the elementary necessities of life; in the cold, or under clouds of blood-sucking flies; in trackless wastes, cut-off from the centers of culture—new cities are being created, and powerful industrial regions are springing up. From your hands the nation receives the wealth which magnifies its might: oil, gas, gold, diamonds, timber. The Soviet people are proud of you—the pioneer-discoverers and extractors of this wealth; the creators of modern, high-technology enterprises and industries; the builders of new cultural centers.

But today there is ever-increasing alarm in our nation over that which is taking place in Siberia, in the Far East, and in the country's Northland.

Yes, we need oil, gas, timber, diamonds and gold. And we need dozens, hundreds of other minerals, and those gifts of nature which the vast lands beyond the Urals and the Arctic Circle provide so generously. But we do not need all the oil and gas; not all the gold and diamonds; and not all the timber. We are not the conquistadors and filibustiers [pirates] of centuries past. And we are not colonizers, taking the gold-bearing lands by force. We truly are the masters of our natural wealth, which have been given to us and to our descendants. Our obligation, our duty to the Present and to the Future is to manage them in a responsible manner.

Today a vicious circle has been created: everyone can see and everyone is troubled by the fact that our magnificent rivers and lakes are becoming exhausted; by the fact that our age-old forests are dwindling to nothing. In the vast spaces of the taiga and the tundra, in the wake of the

mechanized columns of drillers, oilmen, gasmen, timbermen, and road-builders, there remain lifeless lands. The gold and diamond miners have left a lunar landscape behind them. A whirlwind of ruin and destruction has passed through. But everything is concealed by the favorable accounts and reports on execution of the production plans. The departmental vicious circle brings together all those who want only plan and predestine, and those who mindlessly drill and hack at the earth; those who chop, saw and blow up.

**SOVIET WORKERS—YOU WHO ARE OPENING UP THE NEW INDUSTRIAL REGIONS IN SIBERIA, THE FAR EAST AND THE NORTH—OUR WORDS ARE ADDRESSED TO YOU!**

You have the power to cut off the wanton path of the departmental vicious circle, which strives to separate the interests of the people who are opening up the new regions, from the fate of the nation; from the universal concern of mankind for the present and for the future of our fragile Earth!

This time of great changes, a time of universal affirmation of democracy and glasnost, puts into your hands the weapon which you must bring to bear in the struggle to conserve our natural resources, and for an assiduous attitude toward them.

Declare war on those working alongside you who consider themselves short-timers and thoughtless day-laborers; those who do not understand that they are on their own precious native land. Mobilize all the strength of your being and all the strength of your working collective for a careful, wise solution to your production tasks. You and only you can know where tomorrow, because of negligence, selfishness or cold indifference, the next cataclysm might burst out; where oil might gush into a river spawning-ground; where an unnecessary road might wipe a reindeer-moss pasture off the face of the earth; where the rifle of a poacher might be raised on an animal or a bird; where the nets of a river pirate might destroy a protected species of fish; where a soulless hand might turn mighty forests into a rotting pile of trees. You and only you can prevent this!

Oil—but not at any cost! Streams of gas—but not at the expense of a natural stream, or a reindeer trail! Gold and diamonds—they are not more valuable than the lands they destroy! A tree—if it is not necessary to cut it down—must be left standing!

Deploy for this battle. And let your worker's gumption, your proprietary attitude toward natural resources and the ability to wisely combine the needs of today with the interests of the Future, expose the spiritual poverty and sickening nature of those who follow the principle: "The Plan! The Plan! And to hell with everything else!"



Your high level of technical training, your broad knowledge—and above all, your intimate familiarity with the tools of your trade—provide you the opportunity to wage the struggle for equipment which is both highly productive and which meets the very highest world standards, that will guarantee the conservation of nature. Therefore, speak out like a worker, and say “No!” to all sorts of barbaric technologies which tear up and torture the earth, which kill every living thing in the rivers and water reservoirs. Make those people feel uncomfortable—those people in the countless Scientific Research Institutes who live their lives quietly, unhurriedly; those who have held us back in terms of technical equipment; those who have put us in the backwoods of the civilized world. At the top of your lungs, with all the power of your prestige as a worker, from all the rostrums and all the pages of newspapers and magazines, shout out this “No!” to technical, technological, planned and plan-less barbarianism.

DEAR FRIEND!

While creating the new and powerful industrial regions and the areas of high modern culture, you are walking on the lands where earlier people had lived out their lives, where for centuries people of various nations had had their hearth, had done their business, had sung their songs. Respect the past of these people, these nations. If you encounter a place of pagan worship, a sacred tree, an abandoned heathen temple—respectfully go around them. A solitary forest hut; an unlocked storage shed; a seasonal camp, with two or three huts, a one-horse stall; a nomad's chum [portable shelter]—all of these are worthy of respect on your part. Hunters' camps and hunting grounds, fishing grounds, cranberry bogs—you must know about all these before deciding where to cut and saw, cast mud, decide on a temporary stopping place, or start to build a permanent town. Respect for the peoples who have always lived here—is the same as respect for oneself. Preserve and protect the half-decayed wooden idol; perhaps in your own native city the Moloch of progress will not question an historic architectural monument; leave pagan burial places untouched, and perhaps the bureaucrat of today will show respect for the cemetery where your ancestors lie.

The Earth is small. If today the taiga in Yakutia or the tropical forests in the Amazon Basin are mindlessly wiped out, the lack of oxygen will be felt in Bashkiria, in Trans-Carpathia, and in a city of millions, as well as in a quiet patriarchal village. Restrain the hand of those who do not thoughtfully consider what to chop down, how to cut, and how to take from the Earth all those things which it provides today, seemingly without complaint.

Seemingly... But do you not hear its complaint?

Give ear to it! And—think about it...

The tracers of history will follow our footsteps as well. And just as today the nameless heroes of the Great Patriotic War are inscribed in the sacred annals along with those who innocently perished in the years of the Cult, so will the names of those be inscribed on the roll of honor, or the roll of shame: the deeds will be recorded of those who today thoughtlessly cut down, or preserved the forests; those who laid waste to the land, or stood up for it; those who ruined, or saved the rivers; those who let go up in smoke or in rotting heaps the riches of age-old natural resources, or those who multiplied them. And your own name, whether you consider yourself today a lowly worker or a doer of great deeds and master of the fate of many, will either be reflected in the light of great glory, or will be cursed by those who follow.

Oh let not your name be entered on the debit side in the History of the Earth!

#### **Officials on Sakhalin Oblast Environmental Protection Issues**

*18300113c Moscow STROITELNAYA GAZETA  
in Russian 6 Sep 88 p 4*

[Article by L. Aleynik, special correspondent in Sakhalin Oblast, under the rubric, “The Fragile Island Nature of Sakhalin Oblast”: “The Prosecutor in the Role of Defender”]

[Text] The red fish were swimming all abreast into a stream, no broader than a writing desk. Salmon, stubbornly pushing on to spawn in their native breeding ground, moved as a solid wall, literally knocking one down. One felt a sense of injury, and their companions proved it—these finny delicacies, in hundreds and hundreds of streams, will simply perish after spawning.

[Aleynik] “As I recall, it is was strictly forbidden to take the excess red fish, not only for the tables of the Far-Easterners, but also to feed to the pigs, is that not so?” I asked Sakhalin Oblast Prosecutor V. Lenskikh.

[Lenskikh] “For decades our society has been squandering, just on this, hundreds of millions of rubles and an incalculable amount of foreign exchange from unrealized possibilities of export to our neighbors,” he replied. “After all there are 65,000 spawning streams and rivers in the oblast. And how many are there in the entire region of the Far East, where the same thing takes place! Just last year we began allowing people to purchase salmon-fishing licenses, and permitted amateurs to take the surplus fish which had died, and to fish for their own satisfaction for a modest fee. And right away, the number of poachers declined radically—which is beneficial to everyone, and to the state above all. An example has been given to others.”

[Aleynik] Was there any real benefit from formation of a new organ a year-and-a-half ago—the Sakhalin Inter-regional Procuracy?”

[Lenskikh] "The islanders have already aptly Christened it a nature conservation organ; and strictly speaking that is just why it was established. Thus far, one can count on one's fingers the number of such inter-regional procuracies. Before our's was established, in all seriousness we did not know the state of affairs on protection of nature in the oblast. Now a great deal has been made clear, and a number of departmental authorities which had previously operated separately, have been transferred to the USSR State Committee for Nature Preservation, in accordance with the resolution adopted early this year by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers, "On Fundamental Restructuring Nature Preservation Matters in the Country." This will concentrate the efforts of the protectors of living things in the same hands, which have real power. As concerns the benefits from the activity of the inter-regional procuracy—judge for yourself. For the damage brought to only water resources, the cellulose-paper plants of the oblast which operate without purification facilities, have been fined 120,000 rubles this year (whereas in the past such cases were not presented at all). In addition, from June through September 1987, legal proceedings had already commenced against the Chekhov, Tomari and Kholmsk plants, and complaints and suits for 2.6 million dollars in penalties had been brought. The cellulose-paper industry might, if you'll pardon the expression, go bust. But are they really the only ones! After all the damage to nature is enormous from the coal and gas extraction, the fish-processing and other enterprises operating without urgently-needed complexes which would protect living things, the air, the forest from toxic substances..."

**[Aleynik] Where do these substantial funds from the fines exacted by the procuracy go?**

[Ufimtsev] "That's a sore subject," admits Inter-regional Prosecutor S. Ufimtsev. "If the funds from fines (and they are in the millions!) were not to go to an abstract 'state budget'—in essence to oblivion—then the local Soviets might be able to use them precisely for nature-preservation purposes. However, logic notwithstanding, to this day this effective lever for solving ecological problems remains inactive because of the inefficiency of the RSFSR Finance Ministry, which has not yet gotten into the swing of the changes. We, on the other hand, as opposed to the far-off capital functionaries in the financial departments, believe that once the government has passed a law, it must be carried out undeviatingly. Therefore we have begun the practice of exacting fines for the despoiling of nature, to be paid to the local budgets, and the oblast financial department has upheld us in this."

**[Aleynik] "The main thing is, how will these moneys 'work'? For what exactly will the local Soviet of People's Deputies be using them?"**

[Ufimtsev] "Thus far, to our shame, not one of the seven cellulose-paper plants on Sakhalin has water-purification facilities; they are in fact utilizing water resources in an

unauthorized manner. During this five-year plan the Ministry of the Timber, Pulp-and-Paper and Wood-Working Industry had planned to begin construction of nature-preservation projects at two plants; but this will not come to pass: there are no ceilings, no plans, and no subcontractors. Just as it was ten years ago when there was an order from its minister, not one board, and not one ruble was provided here! Solving the problem without investments from the central government, at the expense of the enterprises alone, is impossible; construction costs are in the tens of millions of rubles. But the actual annual damage to nature is commensurate, and it would cover the sums needed for annual assimilation of construction of purification projects."

**[Aleynik] How do you relate to the opinions of the citizens, and are you carrying out the will of the islanders?"**

[Zolotarev] "We and the officials of the nature-protection procuracy are still at the start of the journey," replied Yu. Zolotarev, deputy chief of basin administration for protection of fish resources, their reproduction and regulation of fishing of Sakhalinrybvod. Their strength is great—200,000 Sakhalinites in our department are members of the nature preservation society, but thus far quite a few of them only pay their dues, are members in name only, and shun the real business. Only in recent times has there appeared a recognizable attraction for ecological knowledge, and the need to help personally preserve living things in the noticeably declining local environment. It is precisely on the initiative of the voters—workers, kolkhozniks and volunteers, that a month-long campaign was held, devoted to preservation of small rivers and especially valuable salmon spawning grounds. Enterprise administrators and the people's deputies, in whose hands is the real powers and resources, have allocated all the necessary machinery and bulldozers for cleaning up the stream beds.

The chairman of the board of the Ilich's Precepts Fishery Collective, Ye. Fadeyev, on the volition of the kolkhozniks who elected him, headed up the work on cleaning up the blockages in the salmon runs and spawning grounds; and people have taken responsibility for maintaining the spawning rivers in the far-off Iturup Islands in exemplary condition. And now, for the first time in many years, the salmon have returned to deposit their eggs there. The Oblast State Hunting Inspectorate, headed by G. Uskov, is working side-by-side with the active members of the public inspectors against poachers; among the 20,000 Sakhalinites who love sport-fishing there are still, unfortunately, quite a few poachers. Deputies of the oblast, city and rayon Soviets are more and more often bringing up critical ecological problems for discussion, and are striving to solve them along with the nature-preservation procuracy. However, the deeper we delve into the evolved situation, which reflects severe neglect during the years of the stagnation, the more we are convinced that it's too early to beat the kettle-drums; it is too much for us."

[Aleynik] "And nevertheless can we count on the strict diktat of the nature-protection procuracy, which is responsible for watching over nationwide interests—those of the present and future generations, and the populace of neighboring countries?"

[Aleksandrov] "This must become the norm. One cannot, for example, remain silent about how the Poronayskiy Cellulose-Paper Plant in Terpeniye Bay is ruining the natural environment: there they are exceeding more than tenfold the permissible amount of discharge of particles in suspension, and the concentration of sulfides and sulfates has increased," G. Aleksandrov, a prosecutor responsible to the inter-regional procuracy, says in exasperation. "At the mouth of the Nayba, once a very rich salmon stream, an analysis of the industrial discharges from the Dolinsk Cellulose-Paper Plant was conducted—and the results were simply horrible: the concentration of harmful substances exceeded the norm by more than 1,500 times! Just think of the many brooks and streams which in fact no longer exist today, and this is within my memory. The oilfield and gas field workers in recent decades alone have taken out of use 666,000 hectares of reindeer moss pasture, and the once-abundant population of island reindeer has declined manifold. And the damage from the activities of our land-reclamation workers—who for no good reason drained the swamps which provided water to the forests and the streams? You see, it has been several years now and nothing at all grows there; only a "dead zone" remains.

"As before, the mindless pursuit of gross output by the timber industry, which stands on the position, 'I'm making rubles, I'm not preserving,' has led to the burning of one hectare in seven of forest. See how they are cutting everything down right up to the banks of our priceless rivers, condemning them to ruin. Besides, they build hardly any logging roads, and instead skid the logs down the river channels, right through the spawning grounds, exterminating the salmon in the process. We shall be able to preserve the fragile island environment from destruction, but only if observes the law."

**UkSSR: Danube-Dnieper Canal Project Halted;  
Water Needs Noted**

18300155a Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian  
26 Nov 88 p 2

[Article by S. Tsikora, IZVESTIYA Correspondent:  
"The Construction Project of the Century" Is Postponed  
for Centuries"]

[Text] There will not be a Danube-Dnieper Canal. Next year all exploratory and research efforts for constructing a man-made river channel through the Ukrainian steppes will cease.

At the same time the preparatory work for constructing the Dneprovsko-Bugskiy hydroelectric station, which was intended to separate the Dniepr from the Black Sea,

has also been suspended. V. Fokin, the chairman of the republic's Gosplan reported the suspension of the scheduled "construction projects of the century".

Thus, the Dnieper will continue to flow into to the Black Sea. The design for the hydroeconomic complex, the realization of which would have turned out to be a fundamental turning point in the environment of the entire southern European part of the country, has been buried.

Scientists from the USSR and Ukrainian SSR Academies of Science and from the Order of Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences named after V.I. Lenin for several years have been proving that such meddling cannot be permitted and that irreversible ecological consequences are possible. This was not only a conflict between engineering concepts. The issue of supporting or rejecting the extensive management methods for the future stood behind the discussion of the hydroeconomic complex.

In a recent interview on this subject ("IZVESTIYA" No. 213) the academician B. Paton cautioned against further development of the most water-intensive industries—metallurgy, chemistry, and energetics, in the region, which occupies one of the last places among the union republics with regard to water reserves. The scientist stated, in order to avoid an ecological disaster "it is necessary to reject a stereotypical approach and to reorient the economy to the development of science-intensive industries—electronics, instrument-making, and precision machine-building".

The canal project has been abandoned. What will be next?

I was given this information by the Ukrainian SSR Gosplan. Water resources and not the availability of ore, coal, and raw materials for greater chemistry will determine the choice of the direction in which the economy of the whole southern slope of the European part of our country will develop until the year 2005. A special committee for the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Order of Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences named after V.I. Lenin after a comprehensive investigation of the state of affairs in this region, recommended to the USSR Gosplan to assign the priority in providing water not to industry, but to agriculture. This means that in a republic such as the Ukraine, serious structural changes will occur.

What does this mean? First and foremost, the construction of new and the expansion of currently operating enterprises, whose technologies require large amounts of water, will be drastically limited. These are the atomic energy, chemical, petroleum processing, petro-chemical, and microbiological industries and ferrous metallurgy. At the last session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet at the behest of the deputies it was reported that the construction of the Chigirin atomic power station was

being halted and another enterprise was being located at its site and that a new expert commission chaired by the academician Ye. Velikhov was being created to study the issue of the expediency of constructing the Krymskaya atomic power station. By the year 2005, it is intended to reduce the production of cast iron by 30 percent, steel by 29 percent, and coke by 33 percent in the Ukraine.

The water is needed for the fields. I will remind you that the Ukraine, while occupying only three percent of the territory of the country, produces one quarter of all its agricultural production. Experience has proven: 1,500 cubic meters of water provides a wheat yield of 50 metric centners per hectare. At the same time each million generating units of an atomic power station irrevocably consumes 30 million cubic meters of water annually.

The calculations of experts have shown: in order to reach the frontiers of agricultural production in the year 2005, the agroindustrial complex of the Ukrainian SSR will have to add another five cubic kilometers of water to their present consumption. This is an enormous amount. It is impossible to obtain this amount from reducing the production of cast iron, steel, and coke. Therefore, during the next 15 years, the reconstruction of two gigantic water-catching basins on the Dnieper is planned—the Kremenchug and Kakhovka reservoirs. Managers will be oriented to a conservational attitude toward water and to a new economic mechanism of paying for water with compensation of damages for polluting water sources to be paid by the collectives. The second version of the proposed innovation is being developed now. It will take effect beginning in 1991.

It is true, the times, when it was permissible to take everything possible from the environment, have come to an end. A new way of thinking and new criteria for work are being introduced into economic life. I will cite one more example from the Ukraine. Next year more than half of all government capital investments will go for the reconstruction and re-equipping of enterprises, which are already operating there. The priority has been assigned to the machine-building complex. A growth rate almost two times greater than that in industry as a whole, is planned in this area. S. Tsikora,  
IZVESTIYA Correspondent.  
Kiev.

#### **Special Procurator's Office To Monitor Aral Environmental Issues**

18300155b Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
5 Nov 88 p 4

[UzTAG report: "Defending the Aral Environment"]

[Text] Specially appointed representatives of the law will protect the environment of the Aral Sea area. An Aral inter-rayon environmental protection agency in the Office of the Public Prosecutor was created by the order of the

USSR Procurator-General. Nukus was fixed as its residence and the Karakalpakskaya ASSR and Khorezmskaya Oblast were defined as its "sphere of influence". The chief of the new organization will be directly subordinate to the Uzbekistan SSR procurator.

The formation of the apparatus of Uzbekistan's first environmental protection agency in the Office of the Public Prosecutor has begun in Nukus. Earlier such offices were created for the Lake Baikal, Caspian Sea, and Black Sea regions.

V. Dontsov, the Karakalpakskaya ASSR procurator commented upon this report:

—The decision concerning the environmental protection agency in the Office of the Public Prosecutor was long-awaited. Efforts have been made in this area before, but now it has received a solid organizational and legal support.

The environment of the Aral Sea area has remained without a manager and without protection for many years. In light of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the USSR government resolution on radically improving the ecological and sanitary conditions in this region, the current situation cannot be tolerated.

The task of the new office of the public prosecutor will be monitoring compliance with the laws for protecting the environment and using the environment. Today the primary ecological problems of the Aral Sea area are a shortage of potable water and its pollution by agroindustrial runoffs. The specialized public prosecutor's office will demand the timely implementation of all measures to construct the Tuyamuyun-Nukus-Takhtakupyr water line. It will increase supervision over the status of the water storage basin and over the compliance with the law by industrial enterprises and crop-growing and livestock-breeding farms. We will have to coordinate the supervisory plans with the plans for creating a storm sewer system. The land in Khorezm and Karakalpakistan are poisoned with pesticides. The environmental protection agency of the public prosecutor's office will be called upon to monitor the regulatory acts for observing agricultural technologies.

The staff of the first environmental protection agency in a public prosecutor's office in Uzbekistan is a small one—five people. Therefore, it will work in close contact with the public prosecutor's offices in the Karakalpakskaya ASSR and in Khorezmskaya and other oblasts. Expert groups for determining harmful effects on the environment will be created in the rayon public prosecutor's offices.

The program for saving the Aral Sea area will be decided as a set. Much depends on the ministries, departments, and officials, and the Aral inter-rayon environmental agency in the public prosecutor's office will have to become a powerful weapon in the cause of legally protecting the environment.

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